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ABSTRACT

The report on the status of the Indonesian and Malay languages in Australia documents the history of those languages in Australian education, within selected communities, in international trade, and among high school students. The first chapter gives a brief history of the Indonesian and Malay languages and comments on their place in the life of contemporary Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, and Singapore. Chapters 2-5 detail its teaching and use in Australia's educational system, focusing on significant influences and events in three periods: 1955-70, its introduction during a period of crisis in the teaching of languages other than English; 1970-86, a period of retrenchment in Australian education and business and turmoil in Indonesia; and 1986-92, characterized by heightened awareness of the value of languages other than English. Chapter 6 describes language use patterns in the Indonesian community of the Sydney metropolitan area, and chapter 7 summarizes a survey of Australian companies regarding their current and projected need for Indonesian/Malay language and cultural skills. The final chapter reports on a survey of Australian year 11 students studying these two languages. A series of recommendations for the teaching of Indonesian and Malay in Australia is also presented. Bibliographies of references and instructional resources and a language attitude questionnaire are appended. (MSE)

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Profiles of 9 Key Languages in Australia

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Foreword

One of the consequences of the increased emphasis on language policy making from state and federal governments in recent years has been the proliferation of ways of categorising languages. The nine languages featured in these profile studies were categorised as Languages of Wider Teaching.

There are obviously other ways in which the languages could have been classified. Any one of a large number of possible categories could have been used but this particular group of nine was listed in the National Policy on Languages as languages which either already had or could reasonably be predicted to have the majority of all languages candidates in Australia.

This particular group of languages could not otherwise be classified together. They represent therefore the vast bulk of the second language learning effort in Australian education. As such these languages consume the greatest proportion of the resources devoted to teaching second languages in this country and will do so for several years to come.

In addition to this quantitative rationale for grouping these nine the following rationale supported this selection:

- that language/teaching efforts are to be harmonised with Australia's economic, national and external policy goals;
- that language teaching and learning efforts are to enhance Australia's place in Asia and the Pacific and its capacity to play its role as a full and active member of world forums; and
- that, for planning purposes, resources allocation efforts and the establishment of achievable long-term goals, choices must be made on language issues (National Policy on Languages 1987:124).

These nine were seen to combine internally orientated reasons for language study (intercultural, community bilingualism rationales) with perceived externally oriented reasons (economic and international relations rationales) with a pragmatic sense that only a selection from the very many possible languages that could be promoted, should be.

The nine languages selected were: Arabic, Modern Standard Chinese, French, German, Modern Greek, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese and Spanish. In early 1990 the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education which was charged with the responsibility for the implementation of the National Policy on Languages decided to review the teaching and place of these languages since their designation as Languages of Wider Teaching. Funding was provided under the Australian Second Language Learning Program for the conduct of profile studies of the nine.

The NLLIA was successful in its bid for these funds and co-ordinated a national project of the research teams described in the volumes. The researchers and the teams that assisted them were scattered across Australia and the co-ordination

of their efforts was a major activity on its own. I wish to acknowledge the efforts of Dr Tony Liddicoat, Mr Athol Yates, Dr Richard Baldauf, Dr Pauline Bryant and other NLLIA staff for succeeding in this difficult task.

In addition, the NLLIA is producing a summary volume. This will present an overview of the nine language profiles and an analysis of the most interesting and revealing differences and similarities among them. This is being written by Dr Paulin Djité of the University of Sydney.

These studies represent more than a review of the state of play after some years of designation of these nine languages as key languages. They promise to bring about a more precise and language specific form of planning for the teaching and learning of languages in Australian education and therefore could well represent a more mature phase in policy making itself. In recent years language policies have made only generic statements about individual, or groups of, languages. Since there is now a high level of consensus across Australia about the importance of Asian languages, the necessity of keeping strong European-world languages and the domestic value of multi-lingualism these profiles will probably focus attention on the particular issues that affect the 'condition' of individual languages considered important.

The classification, *Languages of Wider Teaching* is, however, no longer used. In the Australian Language and Literacy Policy issued by the Federal government in September 1991, the Commonwealth identified 14 languages; incorporating the present nine. These 14 languages were called priority languages. Under the Commonwealth's Priority Languages Incentives Scheme education systems, the States and Territories select eight each as the basis of the funding support they receive from the Commonwealth under the Australian Language and Literacy Policy.

These languages are: Aboriginal Languages, Arabic, Modern Standard Chinese, French, German, Modern Greek, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese, Spanish, Russian, Thai, Korean and Vietnamese.

It would be desirable to extend the profile analysis contained in these volumes to those languages not presently surveyed. In its work on Russian, the NLLIA is in a strong position to commence a profile analysis of Russian and is considering extending this to Thai, Korean and Vietnamese.

Joseph Lo Bianco
Director, NLLIA
January 1994

Preface

This report is dedicated to the teachers of Indonesian/Malay in Australia, past and present. My hope is that it documents the results of their enthusiasm and professionalism. Self interest demands that Australians learn quickly to come to terms with the peoples of Indonesia and Malaysia. Friendships will follow.

As with any report of this kind, the present report is the result of the effort of a number of people. I would like to thank them here for the hard work and the enthusiastic support they have provided in bringing the task to its completion. My thanks go to Kevin Huby, who gathered the information on teaching Indonesian/Malay in higher education, administered and analysed the survey of heads of departments teaching the language, and compiled the bibliography. Thanks too to Beth Foster who initiated the work of the project on higher education. My thanks also to Toni Pollard who, with the assistance of Sarah Roberts, worked hard to collect information on teaching Indonesian/Malay in schools all over the country, and administered and analysed the survey of teachers of the language in schools. Without Bronwyn Dyson's careful reading of reports on the teaching and learning of languages other than English spanning the past three decades there could have been no historical depth to the report. I should also not neglect to thank Kath O'Brien who at a very late stage in proceedings managed to put order into the statistics for the period 1986-1992, and Catherine Doughty who gave valuable advice to the project on the survey questionnaires which were used.

There were a number of other people who wrote parts of the report. Here I would like to mention Boy Joseph, who surrendered some of his well earned retirement to design, administer and analyse the survey of the Indonesian community in Australia. My thanks to Peter Phelps, whose essay 'Australia and the Malay World', written for the project, has been liberally drawn on in the report in its discussion of Australian foreign policy and immigration, and who helped with the editing of the chapters containing the accounts of the Indonesian community survey and business survey. Many thanks also to David Reeve, who wrote the sections on teaching methodology and course books, and to Jim Sneddon, who wrote the account of the history of Indonesian/Malay incorporated in the introduction of the report. I would also like to thank Monica Wulff, who designed and administered the surveys of Australian firms doing business with Indonesia in Sydney and Jakarta and wrote up the initial reports on which the project drew. Thanks again to David Reeve, without whose co-operation these surveys would not have been made accessible to the present project.

When a report is written there is always the job of editing and typing to be done. Tony Day, who agreed to edit the manuscript, has done much more and in its final form the report has benefited from his critical eye and clarity of mind. Some typists just type what is in front of them. Sarah Gornall, on whom the task of the typing of the report has mostly fallen, has done much more. She has had an eye for corrections and editorial detail as she typed and for this service I thank her and my daughter Natasja, who in the midst of her studies has helped out in busy moments.

Thanks are also due to Raechelle Rubinstein and Alison Murray, who taught in my place while I worked on the report. Their reward, I am sure, has been the

appreciation of their students, who I know learned much and enjoyed the courses they taught.

Finally, I would also like to thank Joseph Lo Bianco, Richard Baldauf, Pauline Bryant and other members of the staff of the NLLIA connected with the project for their support and the patience with which they have waited for me to complete the report.

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June 1993

Executive Summary

Chapter 1: Introduction

The introductory chapter contains a brief history of Indonesian/Malay and some commentary on its place in the life of contemporary Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore. This is then followed by a brief outline of the report.

Chapter 2: A Statistical History of Indonesian/Malay in Australian Education 1955-1992

1. The period between 1955 and 1992 was one in which Indonesian/Malay was established as one of the languages most widely taught in Australian education. By 1988, almost 25,000 students were learning the language in Catholic, Government and Independent primary and secondary schools in all States and Territories. In 1991, their number exceeded 45,000. At the tertiary level in 1988, 200 students (EFTSUs)¹ were studying the language and in 1992 the number had risen to 503 students (EFTSUs).
2. The educational environment into which the study of Indonesian/Malay was introduced in this period was one in which significant changes occurred:
 - a. There was a considerable increase in the numbers of students who continued their education to senior high school and higher education. This was associated with a high school curriculum which was no longer presumed to be for an academic elite who would go on to study at university but was designed to provide for the needs of all students.
 - b. At the same time as this increase in numbers occurred in secondary and higher education, the proportion of students who studied languages other than English declined considerably. In 1988 only 20% of all students in schools studied languages, and in 1990 only 1.9% of those in higher education did so.
 - c. The decline in the proportion of students studying languages other than English took place despite the fact that there was a wider variety of languages available for study. In 1988 there were 54 languages studied in Australian schools, and in 1990, 36 were taught in institutions of higher education.
 - d. Furthermore, the decline took place despite the fact that important changes occurred in the method of teaching languages as first the grammar-translation method was replaced by the audio-visual method in the late 1960s, and it

¹ Effective Full Time Student Units. One student enrolled in a single subject is calculated as a fraction of one EFTSU. One student enrolled in a single subject does not therefore equal one EFTSU.

in turn was replaced by the functional-notional and communicative methods in the 1980s.

3. The increase in numbers in schools in the period 1988-92 was confined to primary and lower secondary schools. Only a small proportion of the students of Indonesian/Malay continued the study of the language to Year 12. In 1991 the proportion of students studying Indonesian/Malay in Year 12 was just 2.75% of all secondary students of the language. In this respect, students of Indonesian/Malay appear to conform to a pattern evident amongst students of all languages other than English.

The consequences of this situation are important because only a small number of students of Indonesian/Malay enter higher education with a proficiency in the language which will permit them to graduate with the high levels of proficiency required for effective use of the language in the work place.

4. Between 1988 and 1991, increases in the numbers of school students of Indonesian/Malay varied from one State to another. Most notable in this regard is the difference between New South Wales and Victoria. Given the population size, the importance of each State in the business, economic and cultural life of the nation, the length of time the language has been taught and the priority accorded to the language in official policy in both States, one would have expected that the numbers of students of Indonesian/Malay in both States to have been more comparable. In actual fact, the numbers in New South Wales are disappointingly low compared with those in Victoria.
5. While in 1988 more boys than girls studied Indonesian/Malay in schools, in 1990 75% of students of Indonesian/Malay in institutions of higher education were women. This is not surprising since most departments teaching languages are located in faculties of arts and education where students are predominantly women. Comparison between the proportion of males and females studying Indonesian/Malay in schools and higher education suggests then that there may be an unmet demand for the study of the language amongst male (and female) students in faculties other than those of arts and education.
6. The proportion of students studying languages other than English in schools accords well with ratings of the importance of the study of languages recorded in public opinion polls. These indicate that the Australian community, while it regards the study of languages other than English as important, clearly considers other subjects to be even more important in schools and in higher education.

These public opinion polls record the same decline in the importance of Indonesian/Malay relative to other languages as do enrolments of students between 1963 and 1988. In 1963 Indonesian/Malay was rated the third most important language to teach after French and German, and in 1989 it was rated seventh after Japanese, French, German, Italian, Modern Greek and Chinese.

7. In seeking to understand the situation of Indonesian/Malay in Australian education at the beginning of the 1990s, two matters call for explanation:
 - a. the very significant decline in the proportion of students in both secondary schools and in institutions of higher education who study languages other than English; and
 - b. the lessening interest in Indonesian/Malay amongst students who study these languages other than English.

Chapter 3: Beginnings 1955-1970

1. In the period between 1955 and 1970 when Indonesian/Malay was introduced into Australian education, the teaching of languages other than English was considered to be in crisis because the numbers of students of languages in schools and universities were declining. The decline in numbers was associated with a number of factors:
 - a. the study of languages was assumed to be a subject for study only by an academic elite;
 - b. the languages most studied, French, Latin and German, had little relevance to either the growing cultural diversity within the Australian community or the economic, strategic and political relations which Australia had with the rest of the world;
 - c. employment prospects associated with the study of language at the time were few beyond the profession of school teacher. There was little evidence that the business community believed they had much need for personnel fluent in particular languages; and
 - d. languages other than English were isolated from other professional and academic disciplines. This was not only because there was limited encouragement for the study of languages in science-based and other professional faculties. It occurred also in faculties of arts and social sciences where departments teaching languages were primarily located and where there was little encouragement in disciplinary departments for their students to have a knowledge of a language other than English.
2. The study of Indonesian/Malay was introduced into Australian education at the initiative of the Commonwealth Government. It was realistically aware of the political and strategic imperatives attached to Australia's relationship with the newly independent nations of Southeast Asia. It was also motivated by a concern to block the advance of a monolithic world communism which was seeking to expand its influence in this region of the world.

The initiative then did not come because of any widespread public demand. The 'White Australia' policy ensured that there was no local Indonesian community of any size in Australia to create such a demand. Nor was there a demand from a business community seeking a skills base to establish itself in new markets. Moreover it would seem that the initiative succeeded in the face of opposition from some in the academic community who were prepared to dismiss Indonesian languages and cultures as unworthy of serious academic study.

3. By the mid 1960s, the study of Indonesian/Malay had found a place in Australian institutions of higher education as a component of area studies programs where its practical value for the study of disciplines such as anthropology, history and political science could be realised. It had been introduced in schools, in senior years of high school where it was to be available for the linguistically gifted student.
4. Teachers of Indonesian/Malay in the period from 1955 to 1970, with no coursebooks, were caught betwixt and between the change in language teaching methodology from the older grammar-translation to the new audio-lingual methodology. The first courses and textbooks were written for the grammar-translation method and it was not until 1968 that the first coursebook geared to the audio-lingual method was published, to be followed by others in the early 1970s.
5. The reports of Wykes (1966, 1968) and Auchmuty (1971) in the period understood that:
 - a. Australians needed to master languages other than English for their pragmatic value beyond the purely academic goals of programs in educational institutions. These reports argued that they were valuable because they were relevant to Australia's changing society and its business, political and strategic relationships with other nations;
 - b. although these reports sought solutions in the classroom to the problems facing the teaching and learning of languages other than English, they emphasised that students ought to be taught to communicate in the languages which they studied. Hence they were strong in their support of the new audio-lingual methodology. They were also keen to see advanced students of languages enjoy the benefit of in-country training, believing that in this way both teachers and students would better understand that languages were not for the classroom, but might be put to good practical use in everyday life; and
 - c. resources available for the study of languages other than English were limited in a situation of declining enrolments. For this reason, and out of a conviction that co-operation between educational institutions was essential if the study of languages was to become more widespread, they recommended

that universities, colleges of advanced education and schools work co-operatively.

Chapter 4: The Great Decline 1970-1986

1. The period between 1970 and 1986 was one of recurring economic crises, one which saw an end to the high levels of prosperity which had been experienced in Australia since the Second World War. Economic crisis brought with it the need to restrict government spending and an awareness of how limited resources were for education. Furthermore, in the 1980s there was a resolve to harness education to the business of economic development.
2. By the mid 1970s the collapse in the study of languages other than English in schools and universities had occurred. Despite the larger numbers of students entering senior secondary school and higher education, the number of students studying languages other than English decreased significantly.

In higher education the numbers studying Indonesian/Malay increased until 1975. In this year, however, there were only 1,041 students studying the language. By the early 1980s it was clear that their numbers had decreased significantly. It was not until 1986 that the decline was arrested.

In schools the numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay continued to rise in the period between 1970 and 1983. By 1988, however, there were 8% fewer students per 10,000 studying Indonesian/Malay than in 1983 and 41% fewer students persisted with the study of the language to Year 12 than in 1983.

3. Following the attempted coup in Indonesia in September 1965, the lessening influence of Sukarno on the course of events in Indonesia and the end of 'Confrontation', Australia's relations with Indonesia improved dramatically. The repression of the Indonesian Communist Party and the end to Sukarno's anti-Western rhetoric diminished Australian fears of Indonesia as a site of communist threat. Although Australians began thereafter to think of Indonesia less and less, they have continued to regard it as a security threat. The invasion of East Timor, indignation at human rights abuse, reports of politically inspired murders, corruption and poverty have combined with anxieties about Asian immigration to give Indonesia a bad press in Australia. The small economic relationship between the two countries has done little to ameliorate these attitudes and Australian business has been slow to take advantage of the rapid growth in the Indonesian economy.
4. Between 1970 and 1986 multiculturalism became a key component of Australian identity. Multiculturalism brought important changes in the environment for the teaching and learning of languages other than English. It meant bilingualism for members of Australia's migrant populations and resulted in a vastly greater number of languages available for study in Australian education. It also led to a growing awareness that languages

other than English belonged not just in the classroom, but were a legitimate part of the normal everyday life of some Australians. By the mid 1980s, the pragmatic importance of languages other than English to Australia's economic development had begun to gain a hold on the Australian imagination. However, beyond these general improvements, multiculturalism contributed little directly to the wider teaching of Indonesian/Malay. The Indonesian community in the period was small and had no high profile in the national debate about or large share in the benefits of multiculturalism.

5. In schools the belief that the study of languages other than English was for an intellectual elite appears to have persisted into the 1970s and to have affected the teaching of Indonesian/Malay. The presence of background speakers of the language in examination candidatures of Year 12 students appears to have caused decreasing numbers of other students to study the language to this level. This much is clear in the case of New South Wales. The extent to which elitist attitudes and the presence of background speakers of Indonesian/Malay have been factors in other States and Territories in the period between 1970 and 1986 must await further investigation.
6. In higher education, the decrease in the numbers of students of language generally, and of Indonesian/Malay in particular after 1975, highlighted certain structural problems. In this period smaller numbers of students were distributed across a gradually increasing number of universities and colleges of advanced education. This resulted in the creation of small, expensive and academically weak departments responsible for teaching the language.

The Working Party of the Universities Commission in 1975 recommended, as had Wykes and Auchmuty before it, that there should be greater co-operation between universities and colleges of advanced education in teaching languages other than English. It also recommended the creation within universities of larger administrative units such as schools of Asian studies and departments of modern languages in the interest of reducing costs and creating greater flexibility. In the case of Indonesian/Malay it made quite specific recommendations regarding proposals to establish new courses in the language.

7. Like Wykes and Auchmuty, the Working Party of the Universities Commission emphasised the need students had to be taught to communicate in languages other than English. It was therefore keen to see the new audio-lingual method adopted more widely and to see advanced students of language have the opportunity to study in-country. Aware that the learning of language was a time consuming activity and that there were limitations to the amount of time which was available in the normal academic year, they also recommended that use be made of lecture-free periods for intensive instruction of the languages for credit to degrees.
8. The early 1970s saw the continued publication of a significant number of coursebooks and readers for teaching Indonesian/Malay by the audio-

lingual method. The number of publications lessened as numbers of students of the language decreased.

9. The Asian Studies Association of Australia, responding to concerns about the decrease in student enrolments in Asian languages and courses of Asian studies, initiated two enquiries which argued the case for more widespread teaching of Asia and its languages in Australian education. The situation of Asian studies in the late 1970s and early 1980s was inadequate to provide for a future in which Australia's intellectual, economic, strategic and political involvement in the Asian region would be the order of the day.

Chapter 5: Beginning Again 1986-1992

1. The period between 1986 and 1992 was a time in which there grew a heightened awareness in the Australian community of the value of languages other than English. In the public debate surrounding the adoption of the National Policy on Languages in 1987, State and Territory governments also formulated language policies and devised strategies for their implementation. In 1989 and 1991 Ingleson's report *Asia in Australian Higher Education* and that of Leal *et al.*, *Widening our Horizons*, were published. In this period government in Australia emphasised the link between economic development and the vocational aspects of education and of the study of languages other than English. In this atmosphere of heightened awareness of the value of the study of languages, it became possible once again to promote the study of Indonesian/Malay. This resulted in a substantial increase in the numbers of students studying the language between 1986 and 1992 at all levels of education.
2. The period between 1986 and 1992 has seen continued decline in the Australian economy. The volatility of the economy, due to its dependency on commodity exports, also continued. This situation led Australian governments to adopt strategies to re-orient the Australian economy so that it is less dependent upon commodity exports and in a better position to export a more diversified range of goods and services to the rapidly expanding economies of the Asian region. Although the economic relationship between Australia and Indonesia has been a small one, continued unilateral deregulation of the two economies seems likely to provide business in both countries with the opportunity to exploit any comparative advantage open to them. Optimistic predictions indicate that trade between Australia and Indonesia is set to treble to AUD\$7 billion by the year 2000.
3. The Asian Studies Council in its *National Strategy* has argued that if Australian business is to take advantage of such opportunities, more Australians will have to have a mastery of Asian languages and knowledge of Asian cultures. Whatever the prospects of expanded economic activity between Australia and Indonesia, much stands between the prospect and the reality of the Australian business person, fluent and at home in Indonesian/Malay and attuned to Indonesian cultural values,

exploiting any comparative advantage which might be had in a deregulated Indonesian economy. In the Australian community there is uncertainty about the future place of Indonesia and other nations in Southeast Asia in relationship to Australia, a wariness about Indonesia as a security threat and source of Asian migration, and moral indignation about human rights abuse in Indonesia.

Australian firms have been made cautious by the harsh economic environment in which they have had to operate in recent times and so are reluctant to initiate ventures overseas which hold only the promise of uncertain profits to be hard won in the long term. They are also convinced that English is the language of business in Asia. For these reasons Australian firms have been reluctant to invest in training personnel who are proficient in Indonesian/Malay and possess a knowledge of Indonesian culture. Moreover, there are few graduates of institutions of higher education who combine a professional training in business studies and Indonesian/Malay language and cultural studies. In such circumstances it is not surprising that many Australian firms are unfamiliar with Indonesia and lack the detailed information which would enable them to take advantage of the market and investment opportunities there.

4. The economic argument in support of learning Indonesian/Malay language and culture is an important one which appears to be motivating students to study the language. It is, however, important to remember:

Firstly, that the business relationship is but one aspect of Australia's international relationships with Indonesia. Both the National Policy on Languages and Leal *et al.* in *Widening Our Horizons* provide a detailed array of good reasons why Australians should be encouraged to study languages other than English. In the case of Indonesia and Malaysia, a knowledge of Indonesian/Malay language and culture is important to Australia's security and environmental interests as well as to the interaction which scientists, technical experts, doctors and health workers, journalists and those working in the arts will have with their counterparts in these countries.

Secondly, students are motivated to study Indonesian/Malay, not just out of desire to find employment, but out of interest in the study of language and culture, a desire to travel, and a strong sense of achievement conveyed to them by good marks.

5. In general terms we can be very positive about developments which have taken place in the teaching and learning of Indonesian/Malay in Australian schools between 1986 and 1992. There was a dramatic increase in numbers of students, especially in primary schools and lower secondary schools. The gender profile of students studying the language indicates that equal numbers of boys and girls are learning the language at all levels of schooling. It would seem that the problems created in the past by mixes of background speakers and second language learners have been resolved at least for the moment. Commonwealth, State and Territory education authorities have redesigned school curricula to provide better for the

study of language at both primary and secondary level, and rewritten syllabuses so that they are consistent with the new communicative methodology of teaching languages. They have also developed strategies which hold the promise of ensuring continuity of study of the language between primary and secondary school. The period between 1986 and 1992 also saw renewed initiatives to produce new materials for teaching Indonesian/Malay and to publish them.

6. However, if there is reason for optimism, there is also reason for concern. While the numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay have been increasing, the total number studying languages other than English has remained but a small proportion of all school students, and those studying Indonesian/Malay but a small proportion of those studying languages. It is true that the number of students of Indonesian/Malay has been rising in primary school and lower secondary school, but numbers studying the language in senior high school remain disappointingly small. This does not appear to have been caused by a concern for the presence of background speakers of the language in the senior high school. Rather at a moment when students and their parents are making decisions about future education and careers they have decided that other subjects are more important, a situation supported by recent public opinion polls on the question of educational priorities.

Moreover, it would seem that there are still obstacles to the continued study of Indonesian/Malay across the high school/higher education divide. Commentators have argued that the absence of a compulsory requirement for language study to enter university has been responsible for the small numbers of students who enter higher education in Australia with a knowledge of a language other than English. They have also argued that mark scaling procedures in examinations at the end of Year 12 and procedures for entry into higher education have provided further disincentive to the study of languages. There is support for the introduction of a compulsory language requirement to enter higher education. However some have been vigorous in their opposition to such a requirement and have proposed other strategies to deal with this situation, including award of bonus points to those students who have studied a language for entry into higher education. Furthermore, it would seem that while students entering faculties of arts and education, where women predominate, are able to continue the study of the language, male and female students who enter other faculties are not able or not much encouraged to do so.

7. There are several other factors inhibiting the study of Indonesian/Malay in Australian schools. To learn a language successfully requires time. Students must be able to study the language continuously for a certain number of hours over a period of years and to do so regularly and intensively. There is evidence that hours available for the study of Indonesian/Malay have been inadequate and that timetabling difficulties and quotas of numbers entering Year 11 have been an important disincentive to the study of the language in schools.

Moreover, while there is a core of trained and experienced teachers of Indonesian/Malay available, there is evidence of a shortage of teachers of the language, especially at the primary level in some States. It is also clear that teachers faced with the considerable changes in the methodology of teaching languages require the support of consultants, professional development programs and in-country training if they are to be able to master the new methods and technologies for teaching languages, prepare programs for the classroom, and develop and maintain adequate levels of proficiency in the language.

Even in the area of curriculum, syllabus and materials development, where so much has occurred in the past few years in the case of Indonesian/Malay, costs and lack of expertise threaten to inhibit seriously the full exploitation of new technologies. The commercial development of new and technologically sophisticated teaching materials will be limited by the size of the small Australian market, remembering that, outside of Indonesia and Malaysia, there is nowhere else in the world where Indonesian/Malay is taught so widely in schools as in Australia.

8. Vitally important is an approach to the teaching and learning of Indonesian/Malay which emphasises the value of the language in the world outside the classroom. The communicative method, with its agenda of simulating the authenticity of language use outside the classroom, attention to non-verbal aspects of communication and to the sociolinguistic dimension of use of the language, has only recently made its impact on the Indonesian/Malay classroom. Experience of students using the language outside the language classroom is also important. The present project identified only one immersion program in Indonesian/Malay. Clearly much remains to be done to expand the availability of such programs. There is also a need to encourage contact between schools and the local Indonesian community, and to expand the contact between schools, teachers and students in Australia and Indonesia through organised school visits to Indonesia, teacher and student exchanges and sister-school arrangements.
9. As in the case of Australian schools, there is good reason to be positive about the developments which have taken place in the teaching and learning of Indonesian/Malay in higher education in Australia. There has been a substantial increase in the numbers of students studying the language and it is now more widely available for study at this level of education than ever before. It is clear that where growth in numbers of students has been strong, an important factor has been strong institutional support in the form of a critical mass of Indonesianists amongst the institution's academic staff, not just in the department where the language is taught, but in other departments and faculties as well.
10. The success of language courses at the tertiary level is particularly crucial in the present economic and intellectual climate in Australia, where there is still considerable suspicion about the relevance of languages other than English to the everyday life of the community. It is at this level of education that high levels of linguistic proficiency, cultural and historical knowledge and the specifically professional training of graduates are achieved and the link between them created prior to employment. The

ability to communicate means precisely the ability to negotiate cultural and social meanings, and any vision of teaching languages which is narrowly linguistic and instrumental in its understanding of what communication involves can only impede effective communication.

Teaching a language then requires staff properly trained in the methodologies of teaching languages and capable of carrying out research in this field with respect to the language which they teach. It ought, however, also to involve staff with a range of disciplinary specialisations. Furthermore, if courses are to remain up-to-date and in touch with contemporary developments in Indonesia and Malaysia, staff in language programs at tertiary level must be provided with regular and frequent opportunity to travel to these countries to maintain their proficiency in the language, gather material for the classroom and of course to carry out research.

11. A number of factors inhibit the study of Indonesian/Malay in Australian higher education at the present time:

a. A product of the present expansion of the teaching of the language in universities has been a proliferation of programs with increasing student numbers, but supported by low staffing establishments. Such a situation fails to recognise that high staff-student ratios do not provide adequately for the intensity of contact between teacher and student that the learning of languages demands. Moreover, there can be little expectation beyond the short term of a stable basis for teaching the language and ongoing teaching and research in those areas of linguistic and cultural studies, typically attached to departments of language. This is especially so where there is no widespread commitment in other departments and faculties to the study of Indonesia and Malaysia;

b. At the tertiary level also there are inadequate hours available for students to achieve high levels of communicative proficiency in Indonesian/Malay. Departments teaching the language have sought ways to address the problem of constraints on time by creating degrees requiring the study of the language in-country and accreditation of intensive courses, taught outside of normal teaching periods;

c. The present project did establish that the study of Indonesian/Malay was available to students beyond faculties of arts and education, in degrees in commerce, economics or business studies, sometimes engineering, law and nursing and in one or two instances of science and veterinary science. It was not possible to determine the proportion of students of the language who were in these different degrees. The evidence suggests, however, that availability certainly does not mean

that students are actively encouraged to take advantage of the opportunities which are available;

d. There has been no broad consensus amongst language teachers in higher education concerning teaching methodologies and assessment procedures. Functional-notional and communicative methodologies which began to affect teaching other languages in the early 1980s have only recently begun to influence teaching Indonesian/Malay in higher education and it is therefore too early to be able to assess their impact. Furthermore, it has been only recently that the national Teaching Indonesian as a Foreign Language (TIFL) project has begun to develop:

- i. a proficiency rating scale for Indonesian/Malay,
- ii. teaching material, broadly conceived within the communicative method,
- iii. materials for training teachers of Indonesian/Malay, and
- iv. materials for teaching Indonesian/Malay for special purposes;

e. In the area of teacher education, it seems that there is currently evidence of a shortage of qualified teachers of Indonesian/Malay, particularly at the primary level in some States. In general training programs for language teachers are understaffed in tertiary institutions, and there are important inadequacies in the programs designed to train teachers of Indonesian/Malay. The latter involve both the method training of teacher trainees and their level of proficiency in the language. After a period in which training teachers of Indonesian/Malay has not had a high priority, it is a daunting task to provide for an adequate supply of teachers with high levels of proficiency in the language, in-country experience, familiarity with the latest methods of teaching the language, in touch with contemporary Indonesia and Malaysia and comfortable with an increasingly sophisticated technology. One thing is clear: there can be no one-off solution. Decisions affecting the provision of properly trained teachers must be on-going if they are to be effective, and require a set of processes and mechanisms to ensure that information about supply and demand reach all those responsible for decisions affecting the teaching of languages.

12. It is likely that the teaching of Indonesian/Malay will require the support of government funding into the future, given that commercially supportable developments will be, at least in the short to medium term, limited by the small size of the Australian market. Given that government spending is likely to be constrained by the economic recession, provision for teaching Indonesian/Malay will have to be largely accommodated by the re-ordering of priorities within the budgets of universities or by co-operative arrangements combining the resources of two

or more universities. Having said as much, it is also important that governments recognise that structural problems and entrenched academic political interests stand in the way of change in a higher education sector long accustomed to a process of planning which has been 'add-on' and government funded. Governments may then need to negotiate financial inducements in one form or another to encourage further the changes they desire to see.

Chapter 6: Indonesian/Malay in Australia. A Survey of the Language Use of the Indonesian Community in the Sydney Metropolitan Area

1. Indonesians were excluded by the White Australia policy from migrating to Australia until the 1970s. Of the estimated 34,000 Indonesian immigrants presently in Australia, 47% live in Sydney.
2. The survey of the Indonesian community in Sydney indicates that bilingualism (Indonesian and English) is common and that Indonesian and English have separate domains of use. While English is the community's language of contact with government and education and of communication with those who do not speak Indonesian, Indonesian meets important needs in the domestic and community life of Indonesians in Australia.
3. There is a strong expectation and desire in the Indonesian community that Indonesian continue to be one of Australia's community languages. There is also the wish that governments in Australia will assist in the maintenance of Indonesian by promoting the teaching of the language at all levels of the education system, by increasing the number of hours of Indonesian broadcasts on radio and television, and by ensuring the availability of interpreter and translation services.

Chapter 7: Indonesian/Malay in Australia. A Survey of Australian Companies and Their Need of Indonesian/Malay Language and Cultural Skills

1. At present very few Australians who are doing business with Indonesia have a command of Indonesian and a knowledge of Indonesian culture. This is so for a number of reasons:
 - a. the belief that English is the language of trade and business in Asia;
 - b. the belief that it is not possible to train Australians to sufficiently high levels of proficiency in Indonesian to be able to operate effectively in business; and
 - c. the belief that it makes better sense and is cheaper to hire Indonesians, fluent in Indonesian and with a knowledge of Indonesian (business) culture, and to provide them with training in the business skills which they lack than it is to train Australians to have the linguistic and cultural skills which they require.

2. The respondents to the survey of Australian firms doing business with Indonesia were generally agreed that the developing Indonesian economy provided ample opportunity for the profitable involvement of Australian firms. They were agreed then that it was important for the Australian community to understand more about Indonesia, its people, its language, culture and history, and they supported the wider teaching of Indonesian language and culture in schools and universities. The view was expressed that in the long-term interests of Australian business in Indonesia, it is imperative that high levels of communicative proficiency in Indonesian and knowledge of Indonesian culture be combined with a training in a professional or business discipline.
3. In the long term, more widespread teaching of Indonesian language and culture in Australian schools and universities will provide for future levels of need. In the short term, all Australian companies doing business with Indonesia have at some point need of people who have high levels of proficiency in Indonesian and a knowledge of Indonesian (business) culture. While there was a general level of satisfaction with the measures presently adopted to provide these skills, the survey identified serious concern at a situation in which expatriate Australian business people do not have a command of Indonesian. Not only were the respondents not always able to determine the reasons why particular business deals had succeeded or failed, they also expressed concern at the lack of control they experienced in negotiations where they were dependent upon others to translate what was being said.
4. Communication breakdowns were a cause of concern. These occurred for the most part in a situation in which Australian business people, uncomfortable with a command of Indonesian which was less than their command of English, insisted on using English, while Indonesians were prepared to operate with less than total fluency in English. There are two solutions to this problem. Either Indonesians improve their command of English, or Australian companies ensure that their Australian personnel are better equipped to represent their interests in Indonesia.
5. Generalised arguments of the relevance of linguistic proficiency in Indonesian/Malay and a knowledge of Indonesian culture need to be translated into terms which are meaningful to the activities of particular firms doing business with Indonesia and to particular individuals in those firms. It is simply not true that all firms and all individuals who have business dealings with Indonesia have the same linguistic and cultural needs. Firms doing business with Indonesia then require a detailed auditing of their own linguistic and cultural needs. This process is designed to identify companies' activities and markets and the linguistic and cultural knowledge which specific sections and individuals in a firm need and how these might best be provided.

Chapter 8: Indonesian/Malay in Australia. A Survey of Year 11 Students of Indonesian/Malay

1. The survey identified more males than females studying *Indonesian/Malay*. This correlates with the proportion of males and females studying the language in the upper secondary school in 1988.
 2. There were few background speakers of Indonesian/Malay in the Year 11 sample, and very few students indicated that they were motivated to discontinue study of Indonesian/Malay because of the presence of background speakers of the language in the classroom. It would seem then that the presence of background speakers of the language is no longer a cause of students discontinuing the study of the language. The survey, however, did not address the issue of mixtures of background speakers and second-language learners in Year 12 examination candidatures of the language which had been a cause of concern in the past. In Chapter 5 we noted that in New South Wales, South Australia, Western Australia and Victoria at least, measures have been adopted to avoid mixtures of background speakers and second-language learners in Year 12 examinations.
 3. The major reason given for discontinuing Indonesian/Malay after Year 10 was that respondents regarded other subjects as more important. This was particularly the case with males. The other major reason was dislike of the teacher. Girls in particular seemed more motivated than boys to give up the language for this reason.
 4. Those who continued the study of Indonesian/Malay into Year 11 were highly motivated by interest in the study of the language and culture and a desire to travel to Indonesia and Malaysia. They also had a strong sense of achievement conveyed to them by a record of good marks in the subject. The present survey, like that of Eltis and Cooney in 1983 in New South Wales, indicated that the respondents did believe that command of Indonesian/Malay would in some way enhance their prospects of employment. This may reflect the emphasis which has been placed on the vocational value of the study of language in the 1980s.
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RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation 1

The report recommends that Commonwealth, State and Territory governments, institutions of higher learning and schooling systems regularly monitor the effects of strategies put in place to encourage the more widespread learning of Indonesian/Malay in Australian education. The numbers of students in particular cohorts studying Indonesian/Malay need to be established and related to factors such as levels of education, schooling system (Government, Catholic, Independent), hours of study, levels of proficiency, teacher supply, and the factors which encourage and discourage students continuing the study of the language. More specifically :

Recommendation 1.1

The report recommends that particular attention be paid to the situation of Indonesian/Malay as cohorts of students pass through the transition and choice points in Australian Education (ie, primary school, lower secondary school, senior high school, tertiary education).

Recommendation 1.2

The report recommends that particular attention be paid to the situation of Indonesian/Malay in institutions of higher education to ensure that the study of the language is properly resourced and that co-operative arrangements between institutions are being fully exploited.

Recommendation 1.3

The report recommends that particular attention be paid to the measures undertaken in institutions of higher education to improve the co-ordination between the study of Indonesian/Malay language programs and programs of other disciplines and the programs for professional degrees. Particular attention should be paid to improving the co-operation between departments teaching the language and teacher training programs.

Recommendation 2

The report recommends that far greater advantage be taken of the opportunities for study of Indonesian/Malay in Indonesia and Malaysia in order to develop high levels of communicative proficiency within reasonable time frames and in broader contexts than the classroom can provide. More specifically :

Recommendation 2.1

It is recommended that Commonwealth, State and Territory governments, institutions of higher education and schooling systems continue to facilitate opportunities for staff and students to study Indonesian/Malay in Indonesia and Malaysia through a greatly expanded system of scholarships, staff/student exchange programs, work experience, temporary employment, subsidised travel and the allowance of reasonable travel costs for taxation purposes.

Recommendation 2.2

It is recommended that degree programs for training all primary and secondary teachers, and other prospective professional users of the language require a student to complete four years study of the language, at least one of which is to be spent in Indonesia or Malaysia in an approved program of study.

Recommendation 2.3

It is recommended that a consortium of Australian universities be established to administer programs for in-country study of Indonesian/Malay in Indonesia and Malaysia for undergraduate and post-graduate students.

Recommendation 2.4

It is recommended that all teachers of Indonesian/Malay in Australian schools be required to spend periods of time in Indonesia or Malaysia as part of their normal duties on approved programs of study in order to maintain their proficiency in the language.

Recommendation 2.5

It is recommended that all members of staff in departments teaching Indonesian/Malay in institutions of higher education be required to spend periods of study in Indonesia or Malaysia as part of their normal duties in order to maintain their proficiency in the language.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Indonesian/Malay in the world: a brief history

1.1.1 Introduction

Standard Indonesian and Standard Malaysian, the official languages of their respective nations, are very similar and mutually intelligible forms of the Malay language. In neither country is this the only language spoken. In Indonesia there are several hundred regional languages, while in Malaysia there are large Chinese and Indian minorities and, in the eastern States, numerous regional languages. Malay is also the national language of both Brunei and Singapore.

Malay is a member of the Austronesian language family. This is geographically the largest language family in the world (excluding the modern spread of European languages such as English), and includes the Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian languages of the Pacific and the Formosan languages of Taiwan. The Western Austronesian subgroup includes the languages of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines, the Chamic languages of Vietnam and Malagasy in Madagascar.

The Malay language had its origins in the Malay Peninsula and the adjacent coast of Sumatra. In very ancient times the Malay-speaking community also spread to coastal areas of Borneo. Two thousand years ago Malay was just one of hundreds of languages spoken throughout the islands of Southeast Asia. Its rise to prominence, ultimately to become the national language of both Indonesia and Malaysia, was largely a result of its geographical location, which enabled it to become a vehicle for trade and for religious propagation.

When maritime trade between India and China commenced it flowed through the Straits of Malacca, which separate Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. As a half-way point they were a convenient place for sheltering, taking on supplies and carrying out repairs. Malay, spoken on both sides of the Straits, became a *lingua franca* for communication both between traders from different countries and between traders and the local population. Ports appeared and eventually Malay-speaking kingdoms arose. The first such kingdom of which we have clear evidence was Srivijaya, centred in south Sumatra. Srivijayan stone inscriptions dating from the seventh century AD are in Malay, the first evidence of writing in an Austronesian language. The pattern of three main types of Malay (mother-tongue, *lingua franca*, and official language) which exist today were thus already established before AD 700 (Prentice 1978:20).

When traders ventured eastward to the numerous islands of the Indonesian Archipelago, Malay, the language of trade, went with them. With an ever increasing demand for the products of the Spice Islands in the Moluccas the archipelago eventually became criss-crossed with trade routes. Throughout the archipelago Malay-speaking ports sprang up, such as Batavia (Jakarta), on the north coast of Java, Banjar in Borneo, Manado in northern Celebes, Ambon and Ternate in the Moluccas, Kupang in Timor. There is even strong evidence that

Malay was an important language in the Manila area by the thirteenth century (Wolff 1976).

With Malay so widespread as a trade language, it offered a ready means for religious propagation in the region. Prentice (1978:20) writes: 'When Islam arrived in the region in the thirteenth century, the paramountcy of Malay was so widely accepted that it was Malay rather than Arabic that served as the vehicle for dissemination of the new religion throughout the Archipelago.' With the arrival of Europeans in the region in the sixteenth century, Malay also became the means for spreading Christianity. Francis Xavier, who arrived in Ambon in the Moluccas in 1546, preached in Malay and reported that he did so because Malay was the language which everyone understood (Alisjahbana 1976:34).

His evidence for the position of Malay at the time is supported by other Europeans such as Dutch navigator Jan Huygen van Linschoten, who also arrived in the archipelago in the sixteenth century and wrote: 'Anyone who does not know Malay in the Indies will not get anywhere, as with French with us' (translated by Steinhauer 1980, note 4). Van Linschoten also reportedly referred to Malay as 'the language of the Orient' (Anwar 1980:3).

From the time of their appearance in the archipelago the European powers were in conflict with each other. Eventually rivalry between the British and Dutch was resolved in 1824 when a demarcation line was drawn separating their spheres of influence. So it was that what is now Indonesia became the Dutch sphere of influence while what is now Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore became the British sphere. Thus the border between the modern nations of Malaysia and Indonesia was originally an artificial boundary drawn to suit the purposes of the European powers. It divided the original Malay-speaking community straddling the Malacca Straits and, in fact, the entire Malay speaking world.

This political separation had an effect on the subsequent development of Malay, especially in the area of vocabulary. Largely as a result of trade, the Malays, and other peoples of the archipelago, had had over the centuries many cultural contacts with other societies. Cultural influences on the Malays are reflected in a rich store of borrowed words in their language. The earliest important external influence was that of Hinduism and, to a lesser extent, Buddhism. During the Hindu-Buddhist period, from probably as early as the second century AD until the coming of Islam a thousand years later, Malay absorbed many words from Sanskrit, the religious language of Hinduism. Later, during the Islamic period, there were many borrowings from Arabic and a significant number from Persian. Malay also readily absorbed words from European languages, beginning with Portuguese from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Following the division of the Malay world in the nineteenth century the language came under the influence of English in the British colonies and of Dutch in what is now Indonesia. So while outside influences still continued, they were from two different sources. Thus many of the differences between modern Indonesian and Malaysian, almost all found in the area of vocabulary, arose during the pre-independence period (Prentice 1978:21).²

2 Jones (1984) contains a detailed discussion of borrowings, from early Sanskrit borrowings to more recent borrowings from European languages.

Throughout the nineteenth century, knowledge of Malay continued to spread as it remained a language of trade and of communication between the different linguistic groups. Nevertheless, in both countries the dominant language was that of the European colonial power. English and Dutch were the official languages, used for the purposes of government and higher learning, and knowledge of the European language was necessary for gaining higher education, employment and social status. The prestige of these languages was such that many educated indigenous people spoke and wrote to each other in English in the British colonies, or Dutch in the Dutch colonies. In such a climate attitudes toward Malay were negative and its status was significantly inferior to that of the European languages. The former literary activities in the royal courts, especially that of the Riau-Johore Sultanate, now cut in two by the British-Dutch demarcation line of 1824, fell into decline. In its vocabulary, despite the borrowing that did occur, Malay failed to keep up with advances in such fields as science and technology.

The position was worse in the British colonies where as Prentice (1978:29) writes: 'Such an atmosphere of stagnation encouraged linguistic conservatism both among the Malay speakers themselves and among their colonial rulers, so that, even when the language later began its efforts to catch up with the times, its progress was hampered by people who saw new words and phrases only as "corruptions".' The position of Malay was more healthy in the Dutch East Indies. While the attitude of the British toward Malay tended to be one of complete indifference, many Dutch civil servants did learn Malay. Malay was used in lower levels of the administration by the Dutch, and from 1853 Malay-language primary schools were established as the intensified colonisation of the Dutch increased the need for lower rank administrative personnel (Steinhauer 1980:360). Later teacher training colleges were established. Thus in the Dutch colonies Malay did not stagnate to anything like the degree it did under the British, one of the reasons for the earlier and more thorough success of its promotion as a national, standardised language.

1.1.2 Indonesia

In the 1920s Indonesian nationalists realised that if the scattered and culturally diverse islands under Dutch rule were ever to become a united nation a common national language would be necessary. They realised that the language chosen would have to be adequate to meet the requirements of the modern world, as it would need to be used for the purposes of administration, law, commerce and so on as well as being the language of education from primary school to university.

It was obvious to them that Malay was the only language which could seriously be considered as the basis for a national language in Indonesia. It was widely spoken as a language of trade and religion and had been a medium of instruction in schools. In addition, it was the first language of a relatively small number of people, less than 10% of the population. It was therefore not viewed as the property of one cultural or ethnic group. Regional languages were spoken as a first language by a greater number of people than Malay. However, these

languages were almost entirely confined to use within particular ethnic communities and were all clearly identified with those groups.

The only languages besides Malay which could seriously have been chosen to become the national language were Dutch and Javanese. Dutch was the language of administration and was spoken by the educated class, including most of the leaders of the nationalist movement. However, outside this group it was almost unknown. Not only was it not an indigenous language, neither was it an international language like English. A more serious candidate was Javanese, the language of more than a third of the Indonesian population. The position of the Javanese was based not only on their numbers but on their strong culture, educational attainment and dominant position within the educated elite. While pressure to choose Javanese would have been understandable, its choice would have been seen as giving an even greater advantage to an already dominant group and would more likely have acted against rather than for a feeling of unity. On the other hand, the choice of Malay could not be regarded as advantaging any particular group within Indonesia. Although the nationalists could not have been aware of it at the time, the choice of Malay probably saved Indonesia from the problems of language loyalty and conflict common in some other countries, particularly India.

Thus in 1928 at the Second Indonesian Youth Congress Malay was, for the first time, called Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*) and proclaimed to be 'the language of unity'. This produced a change in attitude among those Indonesian intellectuals and nationalists who had formerly used Dutch in their writing and discussions. The increased use of Malay among these groups was reflected in a rise in the number of Malay language publications, including a considerable increase in the number of Malay language newspapers.

In many ways the language was ill-equipped for the role of national language. The nationalists were well aware that the language had languished at the expense of Dutch and that it lacked the vocabulary to cope with various administrative and technical requirements which as a national language it must have. They themselves frequently had to resort to Dutch, or at least Dutch words, when discussing politics and other topics relating to the modern world. They also realised that a standard form of the language would be necessary. In 1938 the First Indonesian Language Congress was held. It determined to set up an institution to study the language, develop technical vocabulary and codify the grammar. However, the nationalists were not able to commence these activities before the Second World War.

The period of Japanese occupation from the beginning of 1942 provided an important boost to the position of the language. The Japanese authorities banned the use of Dutch and, with the Japanese language almost unknown, they were compelled to make use of Indonesian as the practical language for communication throughout the country. It also became the medium of instruction in all schools and higher colleges. A knowledge of the language now began to spread at an accelerated rate. In October 1942 a Commission on the Indonesian Language was set up, with the tasks of deciding on modern terminology and composing a normative grammar. During this period the language became a symbol of Indonesian unity (Alisjahbana 1976:41). On 17 August 1945 Indonesian

independence was proclaimed (in Indonesian), the language henceforth being the official language of the new Republic of Indonesia.

The Indonesian Government, especially since the establishment of the New Order regime in 1966, has placed heavy emphasis on development of Indonesian as the vehicle for education and the means of national communication. Standardisation and cultivation of the national language is treated as an important part of the government's development policy (Hooker 1990:54). The Commission set up in 1942 underwent a number of changes of name and status until 1975, when the Centre for Language Development (*Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa*) was established. During all this time the work of developing terminology and standardising the language continued and continues to the present day.

One area in which the newness of Indonesian as the national language has created difficulties is education. As all higher education during the Dutch period was in Dutch, text books were only available in that language. Although Indonesian became the language of education during the Japanese occupation and following independence, there were almost no texts available in that language. In many subjects, such as law, medicine and economics, only Dutch texts were available until the 1960s, with students frequently relying on stencilled translations. Although Indonesian language works for higher education slowly began to appear, the shift from Dutch was rather to English. Today the number of Indonesian texts continues to grow, many of them translations of English-language works. Nevertheless, to a considerable extent university students still rely on texts in English, a language with which many of them have difficulty.

At a government-sponsored seminar on national language policy held in Jakarta in 1975, the position and function of the national language were clarified (Anwar 1980:151):

- the symbol of national dignity
- the symbol of national identity
- the instrument of national unity, which unites the diverse ethnic and cultural groups
- the medium of communication between the provinces and the cultural groups.

In its position as the official language, Indonesian is:

- the official language in state affairs
- the official medium of instruction in educational institutions
- the official language at the national level, which is to be employed in carrying out the functions of government, preparing and executing planning
- the official language to be employed in the fields of culture, science and technology.

Because of the role of Indonesian as the language of government and administration, communication (including radio, television and the print media) and education, the percentage of the population which can speak the language continues to increase. Nababan (1985:3) estimates the number of speakers of Malay in the Dutch East Indies at the time of the Youth Pledge in 1928 as half a

million. The 1971 census showed about 41% of Indonesians spoke Indonesian while 59% spoke a regional language but not Indonesian. The 1980 census showed that, of a total population of 146 million, more than 17,640,000 spoke Indonesian at home while a further 72,448,000 could speak Indonesian but used another language at home. Thus the total of those able to speak Indonesian was more than 90 million, or 61% of the population.³

These figures can be compared with figures for the major regional languages of Indonesia, as estimated by Nababan (1985:4). He lists ten languages besides Indonesian with more than a million speakers. The largest language is Javanese with almost 59 million speakers, followed by Sundanese (spoken in the western third of the island of Java) with more than 22 million. Each of these has more than the 17.6 million L1 speakers (people who use the language in the home) of Indonesian in the 1980 census.⁴ Twenty-one other languages have more than 100,000 speakers each.⁵

The figures show a significant amount of bilingualism in Indonesia.⁶ Generally, Indonesians who do not acquire Indonesian informally at home (as L1) learn it at school (as L2). Apart from the initial three years of education, when the regional language is the medium of education in some regions, all education is in Indonesian. This amounts to a complete immersion program in the language. Therefore anyone who undergoes an education for any length of time and who does not use Indonesian as L1, will learn it as L2 in school. All Indonesians who have had a full secondary education can be said to be proficient in Indonesian.

Indonesians bilingual in Indonesian and a regional language do not simply use the languages interchangeably. Although a speaker may switch between the two in the one conversation, they tend to be used in different social contexts. Nababan (1985:6), who uses the word 'vernacular' for 'regional language', writes: 'Generally speaking, people use Indonesian in more modern and public activities and the vernacular in the more traditional and regional aspects of their life.'

In village life the regional language is used almost exclusively, in the home and with friends, in the fields and other places of work, in the markets and so on. People living in such rural communities are most likely to use Indonesian on visits

3 All figures must be treated with caution. First, an absolute distinction appears to be made between 'always speaking Indonesian in the home' and 'never speaking Indonesian in the home' and between 'can speak Indonesian' and 'cannot speak Indonesian'. However, there would be many people who sometimes, but not always, used Indonesian in the home and a great many people who had some, but not full, proficiency in the language. Further, no distinction is made between ability in Standard Indonesian and ability in only a non-standard or colloquial variety. A rise in the number of people who could speak Indonesian from 41% to 61% in the space of only nine years between the two census takings seems very doubtful. It is probable that the actual figure was considerably higher in 1971.

4 The figure of 17.6 million clearly cannot reflect growth from the estimated half million speakers of Malay in 1928. Nababan (1985:3) writes that in 1928 'the number of "native speakers" of *Bahasa Indonesia* (Malay) was very small; a generous estimate would not put it at more than 500,000 in the coastal areas of east and central Sumatra, in urban centres, and in the major ports throughout Indonesia'. However, in his list of major languages in Indonesia he lists, besides 17.6 million speakers of Indonesian, 13.7 million for 'Malay dialects' of Sumatra and Kalimantan (Borneo). That is, he distinguishes the national language from the regional language in the original home areas of Malay, whereas his 1928 figure groups them together.

5 There are several inaccuracies in Nababan's figures. Thus Bugis/Makassar, with 2.8 million speakers in southern Sulawesi (Celebes) groups two mutually unintelligible languages. Some of Nababan's figures refer to regions (*kabupaten*) rather than actual languages. Thus 'Minahasa', in North Sulawesi, is given as having 777,000 speakers. This in fact refers to the total population of the *kabupaten* of Minahasa, which includes eight regional languages, five of which have more than 100,000 speakers each.

6 The figures in fact overlook a large amount of bilingualism since they make no allowance for the common phenomenon of a person being fluent in Indonesian and two or more regional languages.

to urban centres, although if this centre lies within the geographical area of the regional language then the regional language will be used here also for most activities. For their children use of Indonesian may be confined entirely to school.

Indonesian is likely to be the means of communication between people having different regional languages, although there are exceptions. In many areas of Indonesia certain regional languages have become *lingua francas*, used by the speakers of surrounding languages when communicating with each other. These generally are only used within very limited geographical areas, and such people must resort to Indonesian when speaking with others from outside that area. However, a person fluent in two regional languages, for instance a speaker of both Sundanese and Javanese, may choose to use his interlocutor's language rather than Indonesian.

Because of its role as the means of communication between people speaking different regional languages, the use of Indonesian in daily life is far more common in urban than in rural areas, especially in large urban centres with their cosmopolitan populations. In such centres a person whose L1 is a regional language will use that regional language in the home and with friends and relatives from the same linguistic background. Indonesian will be used on a daily basis with neighbours, at work and in any other social situations.

Anwar (1985:151-2) agrees with Nababan in identifying Indonesian with modern life. He writes: 'Indonesian is mainly a language of special communication which is used to talk about politics, commerce, education, culture etc., all topics related to the modern sector of Indonesian life Practically all my colleagues, friends and acquaintances invariably use Indonesian when they discuss important matters in a serious manner and some assert that they cannot do it satisfactorily in any other language.' Nababan and Anwar are clearly talking about the linguistic behaviour of educated, urban people, such 'modern activities' being less relevant to the needs of less educated and rural people. They are also assuming people who could alternatively communicate with each other in a regional language since Indonesian would otherwise be necessary in any case. The fact that Indonesian is the main means of communication between people having different linguistic backgrounds means that it is required for communication about everyday matters, not just matters associated with politics, commerce, etc. While it certainly is almost exclusively the means of communication on such matters, it is wrong to assume, as Anwar does, that it is 'mainly a language of special communication'. For all speakers of Indonesian as L1 and for most L2 speakers, it is primarily the language of ordinary, everyday communication and only secondarily, if at all, of politics, commerce, education and culture.

The number of speakers of Indonesian continues to grow especially in urban areas. Even those with little need for using Indonesian in their daily lives are regularly exposed to it in newspapers and films and on radio and television. In 1980 the Centre for Language Development undertook a survey of bilingualism in Indonesia. According to the survey there is greater use of Indonesian as L1 among children than among adults, indicating a continuing trend toward proficiency in the language. The study (reported in Nababan 1985) showed that in thirteen large urban centres throughout Indonesia 5.2% of adults (over 24 years of age) used Indonesian as L1 while among children (7 to 15 years) the figure was 23.7%.

1.1.3 Malaysia

Malaysia is a federation of thirteen States. The eleven States of West Malaysia, on the Malay Peninsula and off-shore islands, earlier formed the Federation of Malaya, which gained independence in 1957. Sarawak and Sabah, in the north of the island of Borneo, constitute East Malaysia. These, along with Singapore, joined with the States of the Malay Peninsula to form the Federation of Malaysia in 1963. Singapore withdrew in 1965.

In Malaysia the conscious development of Malay as the national language lagged well behind such activity in Indonesia. An early step in the development of a standard form of the language was the establishment of a teachers training college in 1922 and an associated translation bureau. Text books produced by the college were used not only in Malaya but also in Singapore and the colonies in Borneo. However, Malay language education was restricted to four years of primary schooling and consequently these moves had limited effect.

The British colonies did not see anything equivalent to the nationalist movement which grew in Indonesia before World War II, nor the fight for independence following the War. While in Indonesia the nationalists declared the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia with its own national language in 1945, Malaya once again became a British colony after the War. Malay resumed its former inferior status and English once again became the official language. Malay language schools were still restricted to the primary level.

It was not until the 1950s that moves for the promotion of the Malay language commenced. These moves included holding several congresses on Malay language and literature and establishment a Department of Malay Studies at the University of Malaya in Singapore. In 1956 the Language and Literature Council (*Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka*), comparable to the Centre for Language Development and its predecessors in Indonesia, was established. The Council had the task of developing the language through expanding the vocabulary, standardising spelling and pronunciation, compiling a dictionary, and publishing literary and educational materials (Wong and Gwee 1972:119).

Although the task of modernising the language commenced later in Malaysia than in Indonesia and although the tasks were essentially the same, the Malaysians carried on their work in isolation from the Indonesians, without drawing on Indonesian experience. Prentice (1978:29) writes: 'The reasons for this lack of contact are numerous. In the first place, during the separation of the two countries in the colonial period the consciousness of a common heritage shared with Indonesia had been largely suppressed, and Indonesia had come to be regarded as simply another country.' This isolation was sharpened during the period of Indonesia's opposition to the formation of Malaysia in 1963. Following the establishment of the New Order government in Indonesia in 1966, relations improved and concern began to be expressed at the growing linguistic rift between the two countries. The first result of co-operation between the two nations was the introduction of a unified spelling system in 1972.

The language problems facing Malaya, and later Malaysia, if linguistically similar to those facing Indonesia, were considerably different in their social

aspects. Due to immigration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there are large Chinese and Indian, mainly Tamil, minorities in Malaysia, differing from the ethnic Malays and indigenous people of East Malaysia in language, religion and culture. The 1980 census showed that Malaysia had a population of 13.7 million, of whom 11.4 million were in West Malaysia and about 2.3 million in East Malaysia. In West Malaysia Malays made up 55% of the population, with 6.3 million, Chinese 34%, with 3.8 million, and Indians 10%, with 1.17 million. In East Malaysia Chinese made up 24% of the population, with a total of 0.55 million. Indigenous groups, speaking Malay and regional languages (Western Austronesian languages related to Malay), made up 75%, with a total population of 1.74 million (Malaysia, 1988 Year Book:19). Figures for 1990, which do not contain a breakdown into East and West Malaysia, show the Malaysian population to have grown to 17.7 million. Of these, 10.95 million, or 61%, are Malays and other indigenous groups. Chinese comprise 5.26 million, or 26.6%, while Indians in West Malaysia comprise 1.43 million, or 8% (Malaysia, Department of Statistics, Monthly Statistical Bulletin, October, 1991).⁷

While Chinese and Indian groups in the British colonies used their own languages within their respective communities, English rather than Malay was the main means of communication between members of different ethnic groups. This was quite different from the situation in Indonesia where Malay was the native language of only a small percentage of the population and had long been established as the most important lingua franca throughout the archipelago. Its choice thus presented no difficulties to most of the Indonesian population. However, as Prentice (1978:32) notes, 'the linguistic situation in Malaysia is quite different from that in Indonesia. In West Malaysia at least, where the Malays constitute the only indigenous ethnic group of any size, the Malay language is regarded as the language of a particular ethnic group, and many non-Malays do feel disadvantaged by its acceptance as the sole official language of Malaysia'.

Despite the attitudes within the non-Malay communities and the important status which English held, the Malay nationalists were determined that the national language should be Malay. In 1955, two years before Malaya gained independence, the proposal that Malay become the national and official language was accepted by political parties representing all ethnic groups (Alisjahbana 1976: 47). It was regarded as essential to the goals of promoting national identity and national integration that there be a single national language. However, in 1969 the name of the national language was changed from Malay (*Bahasa Melayu*) to Malaysian (*Bahasa Malaysia*), partly as an attempt to remove identification of the language with the Malay ethnic group.

With the establishment of the Federation of Malaya, Malay became the national language and became a compulsory subject in all English, Tamil and Chinese language schools. In 1969 English-medium schools began to be converted gradually to Malay language instruction. Although Chinese and Tamil primary schools were allowed to continue using their own languages these were by now few in number. All public secondary school education was in Malaysian. In 1970 the National University (*Universiti Kebangsaan*) was established, with

⁷ The statistics for both 1980 and 1990 include East Malaysian Indians, but not West Malaysian Indians, in the figure for 'Malays and other indigenous groups'.

Malaysian as its medium of instruction. By 1983 all other universities were also using Malaysian. In East Malaysia education had mainly been in Chinese and English and the change to Malaysian proceeded more slowly. Nevertheless after a period of gradual transition Malaysian was also the main medium in schools there by the late 1980s.

With the shift to higher education in Malaysian, students face the problem that Indonesians had earlier of a lack of text books in the national language. While the Language and Literature Council has a program of producing Malaysian language texts, students have access only to English language works in many fields. As these are the first generation of students in higher education whose entire education has been in Malaysian, many of them do not have the proficiency to use these works effectively. Although students in science disciplines do not have great difficulty, due to the international nature of much science terminology, there may well be an adverse effect in humanities and other fields, until a sufficient variety of Malaysian language texts is available.

The Malaysian constitution allowed for the use of English as an alternative official language, to be used in Parliament and the Supreme Court, with later amendments in 1967 requiring greater use of Malaysian in government business. In the mass media use of English, Mandarin and Tamil is allowed in addition to Malaysian. Thus all four languages are provided with their own broadcasting networks by Radio Malaysia (Omar 1985:25). Despite official policy, Malay is still seen in some quarters as the language of a particular ethnic group.⁸ Tamil and Mandarin remain overwhelmingly the main means of communication within their respective groups, while in unofficial contacts between different ethnic groups English is still favoured by many.

Nevertheless, education policy is inevitably having an effect on the ability of younger non-Malays to speak Malaysian. Although few figures are available Omar (1985:25-7) provides numerous examples of greater acceptance of Malaysian among ethnic Chinese and Indian groups, while Gonzalez (1988:850) observes that with increasing use of Malay by all ethnic groups religion has to some extent replaced language in defining ethnic identity in Malaysia. The 1980 census showed a rise in literacy in the national language from 64% to 75% over the preceding ten years (Omar 1985:25).

1.1.4 Singapore and Brunei

In Singapore, Malay was established as the national language (*Bahasa Kebangsaan*) with Malay, English, Mandarin and Tamil being recognised as official languages. As the national language, Malay is a compulsory subject in schools. However, the number of ethnic Malays is relatively low, at 15%, and effective knowledge of the language is not common outside this group. English is the language of government, administration and education.

⁸ Omar (1985:22) cites examples of this attitude, especially among the Chinese community.

The indigenous population of Brunei has always been largely Malay speaking, although related languages such as Iban are spoken in the interior. With its independence Malay became the national language.

1.1.5 Trade

The ascendancy of Malay over all other languages of the archipelago resulted from its role as the language of trade throughout the region. This role remains strong, in part, though not entirely, because of its position as the national language of the countries in the region. At a local level in Indonesia and Eastern Malaysia the regional language will be used in barter or other trade, as it is for other community activities. In the case of many trading ports the local language is a form of Malay, as discussed earlier. Where trade contact is between people having different regional languages a *lingua franca* will be used. Within limited geographic areas the *lingua franca* may be a prominent regional language. In this category must be placed regional forms of Malay associated with particular trading ports, which also function as *lingua francas* throughout adjacent regions.

However, in most cases of contact between different regions the trade language will be Indonesian. In Malaysia, English still plays a role between members of different ethnic groups but, as already noted, Malaysian is increasingly being used in this role. At the market and shopping level in Singapore all four languages are used but between different ethnic groups communication is almost entirely confined to English and Malay.⁹

At a higher level, in business dealings between commercial enterprises, the use of English is far more widespread in Malaysia than it is on the more local, market level. In Singapore, English is used almost exclusively, with the exception of Chinese. Because of the prominent part played by ethnic Chinese in Singapore and Malaysian commerce, use of Chinese is fairly extensive. However, the use of Chinese in internal commerce in Indonesia appears to be insignificant; here Indonesian is used almost exclusively.

In trade between ethnic Chinese business people and Chinese-speaking countries, especially Hong Kong and Taiwan, communication is frequently in Chinese. With this exception most business communication with foreigners in the region is in English. Few foreigners have the necessary skills in Indonesian/Malaysian, unless they are long-term residents, to engage in business discussions in that language. There is, however, recognition from some foreign business people, especially Japanese, of the advantages to be gained from speaking the local language and ability to use Indonesian for business purposes appears to be increasing. While most Indonesian business people are restricted to using English with foreigners, a small number do have facility in other languages, such as German and Dutch.

⁹ The patterns of communication are quite elaborate and vary from market to market, as discussed by Platt (1985).

On the world business scene Indonesian/Malaysian plays an insignificant role. It seems unlikely that business people in other countries, apart from some of those engaged in trade in the region, as mentioned above, could communicate in this language. In this situation the language of communication is almost entirely English.¹⁰

1.2 The Report

Clearly Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei share an ethnic and linguistic complexity which is also found elsewhere in Southeast Asia. It is a complexity of which those from outside the region ought to be aware, and, depending upon the nature of their own relationships with the region, ought in one way or another to be equipped to deal with. Following the brief discussion of the importance of Indonesian/Malay in the world, the purpose of the present report, then, is to provide a profile of Indonesian/Malay in Australian education in the period between 1986 and 1992. In doing so it has set out to describe the position of Indonesian/Malay in Australian schools and institutions of higher education, the factors promoting and inhibiting expanded teaching of the language, and the domestic situation of the language in the Australian community.

The term Indonesian/Malay has been used throughout this report to refer generically to both Standard Indonesian and Standard Malaysian, the national languages of Indonesia and Malaysia. It was first used in this way in Auchmuty's report in 1971. The term is used in very much the same way as the word 'English' is in such phrases as 'English-speaking peoples' where the reference is to a variety of forms of English spoken in the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Australia and elsewhere in the world. The fact of the matter is that in Australia, it has been Standard Indonesian which has been most widely taught in schools, universities, in TAFE colleges and elsewhere. It is for this reason alone that the present report has been preoccupied with the Indonesian variety of Indonesian/Malay. This ought not to be taken to mean, however, that the report advocates teaching Indonesian in preference to Malaysian. Malaysia holds an important place in the order of things for Australia, particularly in the context of Australia's economic and foreign relations in the Southeast Asian region. Malaysia has also been the source of a growing immigrant community and there exist important educational links between the two countries. Clearly, there are good reasons why more attention ought to be paid to the teaching and learning of Malaysian in Australian education.

The report has not been confined either to a discussion of narrow educational issues or limited to the period 1986-1992. In the past very little has been written at all about the teaching and learning of Indonesian/Malay in Australian education, little about the history of Indonesian/Malay speaking communities in Australia, or much about the place which Indonesia has held in the Australian

¹⁰ Helpful information on aspects of the language situation in Malaysia was provided by Selvakumaran Ramachandran and in Indonesia by Margaret Bocquet-Siek (personal communications).

imagination. Interest in these topics is for the most part of very recent origin, a product of a renewed interest in Asia, born in the 1980s of the imperatives of economic crisis and debate about Asian immigration. A number of reports on teaching languages other than English in the past three decades refer to the influence of monocultural attitudes and monolingualism in Australian society and their effect on teaching languages in education but none make specific reference to how these factors have affected Indonesian/Malay. It seemed important therefore that, if the situation of Indonesian/Malay in Australian education in the period 1986-1992 were to be properly understood, some account had to be taken of the attitudes abroad in the community concerning Indonesia and some attempt made to provide historical depth to the account of these attitudes, if the strength of their hold on the imagination of Australians was to be assessed. In a brief and preliminary way, then, the report discusses the place of Indonesia in Australian foreign policy, national security and the economic relationship between the two nations. Discussion of Australian immigration policy, assimilation and multiculturalism has also provided an opportunity to understand the place of the Indonesian/Malay speaking community in community relations in Australia and its effects on teaching Indonesian/Malay in this country.

There are other matters which the report has not covered and these need to be noted here. It has said nothing about the teaching of Indonesian/Malay in the TAFE system nor at the RAAF School of Languages at Point Cook.¹¹ Both these institutions have contributed importantly to the teaching of the language in this country and that this report does not incorporate any comment on them has been due only to a lack of time. Similarly the report, except in passing, has made little reference to the use of the language in research and to teaching it to postgraduate students. Much could have been said on both these issues. In the end any serious advanced research on another culture is dependent on a good command of its language(s), and the capacity of institutions of higher education to train advanced postgraduates to conduct research on other cultures is severely crippled if such students are not required to acquire a command of a language.

Having made these few preliminary remarks, something must now be said about the organisation of the report. Following this Introduction, Chapter 2 contains a statistical analysis of the numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay in schools and institutions of higher education in Australia. The analysis is by level of education, by State or Territory, by education system and by gender, for two periods, the first between 1955 and 1986 and the second between 1986 and 1992. The chapter also contains comparisons of the proportion of students studying Indonesian/Malay with total numbers studying all languages other than English. An attempt has been made to provide the statistics with a broader frame of reference through discussion of public opinion polls which rate the educational priority of teaching languages other than English relative to other subjects and that of Indonesian/Malay in relation to other languages. The statistical information upon which this chapter is based is of very uneven quality, especially for the period 1986-1992. The statistical findings in this chapter, therefore, indicate in general terms the trends that have occurred in the numbers of students studying the language but the extent to which they record

¹¹ For a brief history of the RAAF School of Languages see Turner (1983).

absolutely accurately the actual numbers of students studying the language is more doubtful. Furthermore, it is not always certain what statistics drawn from different sources represent in terms of hours of study of the language, or levels of proficiency across States and Territories, education systems and levels of education, issues vitally important to know if the numbers are to mean anything very concrete.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine the cultural and educational conditions in which Indonesian/Malay was taught in Australian schools and universities during two periods, 1955-1970 and 1970-1986. The first was the period in which the language was introduced into Australian universities and schools and in which the numbers of students learning the language increased to reach a modest level. The second was a period in which, after some continued growth in numbers and more widespread teaching of the language, interest waned and numbers dropped. Both chapters relate these events to Australian attitudes towards Indonesia in the context of issues of foreign policy and national security, immigration, assimilation and multiculturalism, the economy and the economic relationship with Indonesia as well as to factors in Australian education systems in which Indonesian/Malay and other languages were taught.

Following the discussion in the previous chapters, Chapter 5, which deals with the period between 1986 and 1992, contains further discussion of Australian attitudes toward Indonesia, particularly in the context of the economic relationship between the two countries. Extensive use was made in this chapter of the reports of Ingelson, *Asia in Australian Higher Education* (1989), Leal *et al.*, *Widening Our Horizons* (1991) and of parts of Nicholas *et al.*, *Languages at the Crossroads* (1993) in determining the issues to be discussed. The information contained in the chapter derives from a number of sources, including State and Territory departments of education, university handbooks, and a number of surveys carried out by the present Indonesian profiling project. These were a survey of heads of departments responsible for teaching Indonesian/Malay in institutions of higher education in Australia, a survey of school teachers of Indonesian/Malay in all States and Territories, a motivational survey of Year 11 students studying Indonesian/Malay in schools, a survey of the Indonesian/Malay speaking community in the Sydney metropolitan area, and a survey of Australian firms doing business with Indonesia concerning their attitudes towards the value of a command of Indonesian and a knowledge of Indonesian culture in their business relations with Indonesia. Because of constraints of time, the surveys of school teachers and heads of departments in institutions of higher education have not been fully reported, but have been made use of in the discussion of relevant issues in the chapter.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 discuss aspects of the situation of Indonesian/Malay in the Australian community. Chapter 6 contains the report of a survey of the Indonesian speaking community in the metropolitan area of Sydney. The survey was carried out to determine the use of the language amongst members of the community, whether they perceived a need to maintain the use of the language as a community language in Australia and the measures which they considered necessary to do so. An attempt to survey the Malaysian community in the Sydney area proved impossible because of difficulties in locating a Malaysian community organisation there.

Chapter 7 contains discussion of two surveys of Australian companies trading with Indonesia, one conducted in the Sydney metropolitan area and the second in Jakarta. The surveys were carried out to determine the language skills and cultural knowledge which these companies consider they require when doing business in Indonesia, the way in which they recruit personnel with these skills, and their assessment of the efficacy of their current practices in this respect.

Chapter 8 contains the report of an attitudinal survey of students of Indonesian/Malay in Year 11 of Australian secondary schools. This was part of a survey, conducted by the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA), which was intended to discover the factors which influenced students to continue or discontinue their study of languages after Year 10.

Chapter 9, the final chapter, contains this report's conclusions and recommendations.

Readers should note that Chapters 2-8 have been provided with a summary of main points which have been put together in the form of an executive summary at the front of the report. Those wanting a brief statement of the report's principle conclusions and recommendations should turn to Chapter 9.

2 A STATISTICAL HISTORY OF INDONESIAN/MALAY IN AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION 1955-1992

2.1 Introduction

The period between 1955 and 1992 was one in which Indonesian/Malay was established as one of the languages most widely taught in Australian education. In the late 1950s only handfuls of students studied the language in secondary schools in Victoria and South Australia and in three universities: Canberra University College (now the Australian National University), the University of Melbourne and the University of Sydney. By 1988, almost 25,000 students in Catholic, Government and Independent primary and secondary schools in all States and Territories were learning Indonesian/Malay, and in 1991 numbers in schools appear to have exceeded 45,000. At tertiary level in 1992 the language was available in 22 universities in all States and Territories and was studied by some 503 students (EFTSUs).

The educational environment into which the study of Indonesian/Malay was introduced in this period was one in which significant changes occurred. In the first place, there was a considerable expansion in the numbers of students who continued their studies to the level of upper secondary school and higher education. Some impression of the order and pace of increased participation of students in upper secondary schools can be gathered from the numbers sitting for the Leaving Certificate and then the Higher School Certificate in New South Wales between 1953 and 1991. In 1953 just 7,171 students sat for the Leaving Certificate. A decade later in 1964, the final year in which students in New South Wales sat for the Leaving Certificate, the candidature numbered 24,495. By 1970 there were 27,676 students sitting for the Higher School Certificate. In 1976 the candidature numbered 36,157. In 1980, it was 32,498 and rose again to 40,911 in 1986 (Robinson 1973: Tables XIIa and XIIb; Hawley 1982:Table 7.1.2; Lo Bianco 1987:28-29). By 1988 it was 50,655 and in 1991 reached 57,113.¹² Nationally the number of matriculation students jumped, from 95,512 in 1974 to 140,984 in 1986 (Hawley 1982:Table 7.1; Lo Bianco 1987:28-29). The larger numbers of students who continued on to the upper high schools was accompanied by important changes in curriculum. The curriculum in the upper high school was no longer presumed to be for an academic elite who would advance to study at university, but was designed to provide for the needs of all students.

After the Second World War there was also a considerable expansion in higher education. Not only were there many more students enrolling in tertiary institutions but there was also an increase in the number of institutions as the universities of New South Wales, Monash, La Trobe, Flinders, Griffith, Murdoch, Deakin and others opened their doors, and as colleges of advanced education were founded in the late 1960s and the 1970s (Legge 1990:96). By 1981, as a result of these developments, student enrolments in universities and colleges of advanced education numbered 309,300 (Hawley 1982:62 and Table 1.2). In 1990 Leal *et al.* (1991 1:67) give the number as 383,838 (EFTSUs).

¹² NSW Department of Education verbal communication

At the same time as this expansion in secondary and higher education took place, however, the proportion of students who studied languages other than English declined considerably. Indeed, the period in which the study of Indonesian/Malay became one of the most widely taught languages in Australian education was one in which the teaching and learning of languages other than English went into a serious state of decline. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, years coincident with the initial period of rapid growth in the number of students learning Indonesian/Malay in schools, universities and colleges of advanced education, students at all levels of education in Australia turned away from the study of languages other than English. Some measure of this decline can be gained from the decrease in the proportion of matriculation students studying these languages. Nationally, between 1967 and 1976, enrolments in matriculation programs for the study of languages other than English dropped from 40% of the total number of matriculation students to just 14%, a level at which enrolments remained until 1986 (based on Hawley 1982:Tables 7, 7.1 and Lo Bianco 1987:28-29). By 1988 the proportion of students studying languages other than English was 20.2% of the total school population in Australia (*National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools 1988:8*, Tables 4 and 5). Between 1983 and 1988, the decline in numbers of students of languages in the upper secondary schools continued. Between 1983 and 1988, however, although there was an overall increase of 13% in the numbers of students per 10,000 studying languages other than English, there were 12% fewer students per 10,000 studying languages other than English in the upper secondary schools than there had been in 1983 (*National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools 1988:20*, Table 10). In higher education a similar drop in enrolments also took place in these years. In 1964 Wykes recorded that 29.73% of all BA students in universities were studying languages other than English. There were at the time negligible numbers in other faculties (Wykes 1966:13, 15-20). Eleven years later, in 1975, the proportion of undergraduate students studying languages other than English had dropped to 22.97% of BA students and 7.6% of all undergraduates. These levels of enrolment, according to Hawley, were maintained until 1981 (Hawley 1982:Table 1.2). The calculation by Leal *et al.* of student enrolments in languages other than English for 1990 was not more optimistic. He calculated that only 1.899% of the students enrolled in institutions of higher education were studying a language other than English (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:67).

The consistency with which students in schools and in higher education have chosen not to study languages other than English is remarkable. It suggests something of the strength and persistence of the broader educational and cultural attitudes which have motivated their choice. These attitudes we will examine in later chapters. For now it is important to note that this view is supported by the findings of a number of surveys of public opinion concerning teaching (Asian) languages which were conducted between 1963 and 1989. Goot, in a short article in which he discussed these public opinion polls, advised caution in interpreting too optimistically the level of support at the end of our period for more teaching of Asian languages in schools. A 1989 survey which AGB McNair carried out on behalf of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade showed 43% support in favour of more teaching of Asian languages in schools. This compared favourably with other subjects rated highly such as mathematics and science, but Goot believed it did not represent 'widespread acceptance' as Garnaut's report had suggested (Goot 1990:121).

Goot advised caution for a number of reasons. There were several factors which stood in the way of the realisation of too ambitious plans to expand the teaching of Asian languages. Asian languages, in particular Chinese and Japanese, were not the easiest of languages for Australians of European origin to learn, especially when the learning of these languages did not commence until the beginning of secondary school. A shortage of adequately trained teachers, shortcomings in existing curricula and pressure from those with an interest in other subjects were also factors likely to place constraints on any increased emphasis on Asian languages. 'Already,' he exclaimed, 'the cry can be heard that what young Australians really need is better training in English.' He was further encouraged in his caution by a second poll which had also been conducted by AGB McNair only a couple of months earlier, this time on behalf of the Office of Multicultural Affairs. In this survey respondents were asked to rate a list of nine subjects as 'very important' to teach in schools (as opposed to 'fairly important', 'not very important' or 'not at all important'). Only 16% of respondents regarded teaching Asian Languages as 'very important'. The only subjects rated less important were European languages, which only 13% regarded as 'very important'. These ratings compared with reading, writing and mathematics which nearly all respondents rated as 'very important', teaching respect for authority, which four fifths thought 'very important', science, technology and Australian history, which two thirds of the respondents rated similarly, and literature and the arts which a quarter of the respondents also thought to be 'very important' (Goot 1990:120-21).

Goot's caution finds support in the findings of a survey of Australian business managers and school and university students conducted by the Centre for Export Marketing of the Australian Graduate School of Management at the University of New South Wales in 1990. According to this survey, very few managers spoke languages other than English and those who did were more likely to have a command of French and German than of languages relevant to an expanded role for Australian business in the economy of the Pacific Rim. There appeared to be little awareness in firms of the existing language and cultural skills which managers had, and there was little value placed upon or time devoted to language training or the development of cross-cultural awareness of managers (Centre for Export Marketing 1991:v, 35-37). Less than 2% of the students surveyed chose career options in international business, preferring to find employment in one of the professions. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that in the sample of students there was little evidence of fluency in languages other than English and little enthusiasm to acquire such skills. The one exception to this general trend was Japanese, to which some positive value was given. Students attached more importance to understanding other cultures than languages and to the idea that Australians had something to learn from other countries in improving the international competitiveness of Australian business. Again, particular importance was attached to Japan in this respect. Students, however, displayed little willingness to live and work for a year or more in an Asian country as a personal contribution to improving Australia's international competitiveness. Students preferred the prospect of doing so in Europe. They certainly had no desire to see Asian work and management practices widely adopted in Australia (Centre for Export Marketing 1991:47-51).

The rates of 16% and 13% support for the study of languages other than English revealed in the survey carried out for the Office of Multicultural Affairs in 1989 accord remarkably well with the 14%-20% of students in Australian schools who have chosen to study these languages at matriculation level over the past decade and a half. It seems clear then that students, their parents and the public at large have quite consistently had a set of educational priorities in which the learning of languages other than English had a definite place. The attitudes which have motivated their priorities will be explored in detail in later chapters. In the meantime two other important features of the period in which Indonesian/Malay was introduced into Australian education need to be briefly considered.

The decline in the proportion of students of languages other than English in this period took place despite the growing number of languages which were available for study in Australian schools and universities and despite a number of significant changes in the methodology of teaching languages other than English. Between the late 1960s and early 1970s a significant change also occurred in the pattern of languages available for study in schools and in higher education. Prior to 1967 French, Latin and German had dominated language study at all levels of education. Between 1967 and 1975, however, the numbers of matriculation students learning French and Latin tumbled while those studying German remained relatively stable. At the same time, the numbers studying Italian, Indonesian/Malay, Japanese and Spanish, all of which had not been popular subjects previously, increased significantly. By the early 1980s, in New South Wales for example, candidates for the Higher School Certificate presented themselves for examination in 27 languages (Eltis and Cooney 1983:51). Nationally, in 1988, 54 languages, including 14 Aboriginal languages, were studied in Australian schools (*National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools* 1988: 3). At the tertiary level, too, a similar development took place. The numbers of students studying French and Latin fell while those taking up Chinese, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese and Spanish increased between 1967 and 1975 (Wykes 1966:28-32; compare Hawley 1982:Tables 1.2 and 6.2). Leal *et al.* report that in 1990, 36 languages were offered in institutions of higher education across the country (Leal *et al.* 1991:59). The gains made by the 'new languages' in schools and in higher education, however, were not sufficient to make up for the numbers which had deserted the study of French and Latin.

A number of significant changes in the methodology of teaching languages other than English also took place in these years. The grammar-translation approach gave way in the late 1960s to an extended audio-lingual phase, and more recently, functional-notional and communicative approaches have begun to dominate. As was the case with other languages, Indonesian/Malay language teaching methodology changed over the period and this is reflected in the published texts and course materials for Indonesian/Malay, of which some 40 titles were published in Australia in the 28 years from 1965 to 1992. These 28 years are bounded by the publication of T. S. Lie's *Introducing Indonesian* (1965), and Victoria Taylor and Michael Sedunary's *Ayo!* (1991-1992). To hold the two texts side-by-side provides a graphic illustration of the shifts in approach, design and educational feel of the last quarter century: The former is small, four-square, with pages of rules and translation sentences, no colour or illustrations. The latter is large, bright, jazzy and multicoloured, packed with photographs

and comic strips, and emphasising communicative activities to be done in pairs and groups.

Lie's *Introducing Indonesian* appears to have been the first Indonesian coursebook to be published in Australia. Its appearance marked the start of a significant number of Indonesian courses and texts, published particularly in the years 1965 to 1975, reflecting the new interest in Indonesian in educational institutions and in publishing houses. Some 20 titles appeared in those eleven years, including grammars, course texts and readers. No period since has seen so much activity. A methodological tension was almost immediately evident. While Lie's work of 1965 was a typical grammar-translation text, Purwanto Danusugondo's *Bahasa Indonesia for Beginners*, published in 1966, explicitly rejected the grammar-translation method, and advocated teaching grammar through 'productive patterns' — 'model constructions upon which many sentences in the language are based'. Fully-fledged advocacy of the audio-lingual or oral-aural approach was vigorously advocated two years later, in 1968, by Ichsan, Baker and Lane's *Lantjar Berbahasa Indonesia*, which announced itself as 'the first which is completely geared to the aural-oral method'. The importance of this new trend was confirmed by the appearance of H. Hendrata's *An Audio-lingual Course in Bahasa Indonesia*, published in 1969. These two texts marked the start of a predominantly audio-lingual phase in textbooks, a phase that was to last for 20 years.

Within this 20-year period there were certain trends. The most productive phase was from 1968 to 1972, when *Lantjar Berbahasa Indonesia* and the first volumes of the three major high school texts (Hendrata 1969, McGarry and Sumaryono 1970-74, Partoredjo 1972) were published. From the mid 1970s there was a marked loss of impetus, with falling enrolments in schools and universities. Only one other major text, Yohanni Johns' *Langkah Baru*, was published during the remainder of the 1970s, along with half a dozen readers. Publication of new materials became even more sporadic in the 1980s, with little more than the occasional reader or tourist phrasebook. Declining student numbers meant not only that fewer courses were written but that publishers also saw little profit in a declining market. The first hopeful sign in a barren period was the appearance of a periodical for Indonesian teachers and learners, *Pelangi*, from Toowoomba, in 1985.

In 1988, 20 years after *Lantjar Berbahasa Indonesia* had signalled the arrival of audio-lingual methodology in Indonesian language teaching in Australia, Ian J. White's textbook *Bahasa Tetanggaku* demonstrated a fundamental shift of methodology to the functional-notional and communicative approach. In the case of Indonesian, this was rather belated; such texts had appeared for European languages since the early 1980s. The year 1988 also marked the start of a modest renewal of energies and activity in materials development. *Bahasa Tetanggaku* was one of at least seven new titles that appeared in the 1988-1992 period. While most of these were readers, another text for schools appeared with *Ayo!*, an Indonesian version of the communicative Italian school text *Avanti!*, in use since 1982. In 1993 *Suara Siswa National Curriculum Guidelines for Indonesian* was published, providing for teaching the language in primary and secondary schools. Other government funding initiatives also promise more materials at adult levels with communicative teaching techniques as the dominant methodology in these most recent developments.

2.2 A statistical history of Indonesian/Malay 1955-1992

In the remainder of this chapter the numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay will be more closely examined for information concerning their distribution across levels of education, States and Territories, education systems and gender in two periods, the first between the early 1960s and 1986 and the second between 1986 and 1992. Numbers in schools will first be examined and then those in higher education.

2.2.1 The schools

When Wykes and King surveyed the teaching of 'foreign' languages in Australian schools between 1957 and 1963, French, German and Latin dominated language programs. In this period they found that only 'handfuls of children' were studying Indonesian and Malay. Victoria was then the only State teaching Indonesian (0.01% of students in Form 6) and South Australia was the only State teaching Malay (1.2% of students in Form 5). While French, German and Latin were a feature of all education systems, smaller languages like Indonesian/Malay were in the main only taught in Independent schools (Wykes and King 1968:50, 62, 75). In comparison with the handfuls of students studying the language in the early 1960s, in 1991 we have noted that there were more than 45,000 students learning Indonesian/Malay at primary and secondary levels in Government, Catholic and Independent schools in all States and Territories.

Statistical information which permits us to calculate the total numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay for all years in the period between 1955 and 1992 are not readily available. However we have been able to make some comparison between the years 1969, 1975, 1988 and 1991. Table 2.1 tabulates the numbers of students in Australian schools studying Indonesian/Malay by level of education for these years.

Year	Primary		Secondary		Year 12		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1969			3431		590	17.20	3431
1975	2577	19.13	10895	80.87	619	5.68	13472
1988	5938	23.82	18987	76.18	1054	5.55	24925
1991	16682	36.67	28815	63.34	791	2.75	45497

Table 2.1
Number and Percentage of Students of Indonesian/Malay by Level of Education 1969-1991¹³

Between 1969 and 1988 the numbers of students studying the language in secondary schools rose from 3,431 to 18,987, which is an increase of 15,556 or 453.4%. Numbers grew by 7,464 or 217% between 1969 and 1975, and between 1975 and 1988, by a further 8,092 or 72.3%. There are no statistics available for the numbers learning Indonesian/Malay in primary schools in 1969. However,

¹³ Table 2.1 is based on *Teaching Migrant Languages in Schools* (1976): Table 3/2, 3/3, and 3/2 and on the information in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 below

between 1975 and 1988 their numbers increased from 2,577 to 5,938, an increase of 3,361 or 130.4%. In these same years total numbers of students in primary and secondary schools grew by 11,453 or 85%. It would seem, however, that numbers learning Indonesian/Malay peaked in 1983 and then decreased between 1983 and 1988. The National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools of 1988 records that in 1983 there were 88 students per 10,000 studying Indonesian/Malay in Australia. In 1988 there were 81 per 10,000. There was then an 8% drop in numbers (*National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools 1988:Table 11*).¹⁴ It is important to note that in this year, only 11% of students studying languages in schools were studying Asian languages. Total numbers in Indonesian/Malay declined, and significant increases in the number of students per 10,000 occurred in the case of Chinese and Japanese (*National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools 1988:21, Table 11*).

Tables 2.2 and 2.3 tabulate the numbers of students of Indonesian/Malay in 1988 and 1991 by State, level of education and schooling system. Some comment is required on these statistics. The statistics for 1988 are based on the *National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools 1988*. Those for 1991 are based on three sources: statistics provided by Curriculum Corporation to the NLLIA,¹⁵ statistics presented by Brown and McKay to the Enquiry into Australia's Relations with Indonesia conducted by the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade,¹⁶ and statistics gathered by the NLLIA profiling project for Indonesian/Malay itself. There were important variations between these three sources. Apart from the gaps, which were filled from one source or another, there were instances in which the three sources provided different figures. In the absence of any means of checking the statistics provided by Curriculum Corporation and Brown and McKay in the time available, the statistical information provided to the profiling project has been used as much as possible. Even then there have been instances when arbitrary decisions have been made. The calculation of the total numbers of students of Indonesian/Malay for 1991 are higher than those provided in the other two sources. Nevertheless, all three point to a substantial increase in the number of students of the language between 1988 and 1991. This increase was apparent at all levels of education. Between these years, the total number of students of the language increased by 20,572 or 82.54%. The growth in numbers in primary schools was particularly significant, increasing from 5,938 to 16,682, an increase of 10,744 or 180.9%. In the secondary schools the increase was 9,828 or 51.76%.

Further observations can be made on the basis of the statistical information available for the years between 1969 and 1991. As Table 2.1 showed, between 1975 and 1991 the numbers of students learning Indonesian/Malay in Australian secondary schools dropped from 80.87% to 63.34% of all students studying the language, while those in primary schools increased from 19.13% to 36.67%.

¹⁴ The numbers recorded in this survey appear to be slight underestimates. The data for Catholic schools in New South Wales and Queensland are those of the Archdioceses of Sydney and Brisbane only.

¹⁵ Letter, Curriculum Corporation 23/10/92 to NLLIA.

¹⁶ The statistics presented by Mrs Elaine McKay and Dr Colin Brown to the Enquiry into Australia's Relations with Indonesia conducted by the Parliamentary Joint Committee were compiled by Mrs Heather Westwood and Mrs Val Kitchener.

State	Schooling System	Government	Catholic	Independent	Total
NSW	Primary	-	-	168	168
	L Sec	1686	156	1105	2947
	U Sec	671	76	76	747
	Year 12	357	-	39	396
	Sec	2357	156	1181	3694
Vic	Total	2357	156	1349	3862
	Primary	650	-	175	825
	L Sec	4933	2327	1667	8927
	U Sec	382	114	323	819
	Year 12	236	54	211	501
Qld	Sec	5315	2441	1990	9746
	Total	5965	2441	2165	10571
	Primary	-	-	270	270
	L Sec	346	52	262	660
	U Sec	24	-	49	73
SA	Year 12	3	-	33	36
	Sec	370	52	311	733
	Total	370	52	581	1003
	Primary	1871	-	9	1880
	L Sec	884	-	128	1012
WA	U Sec	79	1	23	103
	Year 12	22	-	6	28
	Sec	963	1	151	1115
	Total	2834	1	160	2995
	Primary	308	-	315	623
Tas	L Sec	112	-	470	582
	U Sec	16	4	63	83
	Year 12	8	1	20	29
	Sec	128	4	533	665
	Total	436	4	848	1288
ACT*	Primary	198	-	-	198
	L Sec	577	88	90	755
	U Sec	28	-	-	28
	Year 12	28	-	-	28
	Sec	605	88	90	783
NT	Total	803	88	90	981
	Primary	713	30	30	773
	L Sec	950	73	73	1096
	U Sec	27	6	6	39
	Year 12	8	3	3	14
Australia	Sec	977	79	79	1135
	Total	1690	109	109	1908
	Primary	1179	22	-	1201
	L Sec	861	217	-	1078
	U Sec	38	-	-	38
Total	Year 12	22	-	-	22
	Sec	899	217	-	1116
	Total	2078	239	-	2317
	Primary	4919	52	967	5938
	Sec	11614	3038	4335	18987
Total	Year 12	684	58	312	1054
	Total	16533	3090	5302	24925

Table 2.2
Numbers of Students of Indonesian/Malay by State, Level of Education and Schooling System.
1988.

* In the statistics for the ACT, numbers of students in Independent and Catholic schools are combined. These figures have been arbitrarily divided by two to enable a calculation of the totals of each schooling system. This procedure is likely to have resulted in an overestimation of the numbers in the Catholic schools and an underestimation of numbers in Independent schools. Decimals have been rounded up on all occasions.

State	Schooling System	Government	Catholic	Independent	Total
NSW	Primary	-	-	330	330
	L Sec	1878	354	1529	3761
	U Sec	527	-	105	632
	Year 12	276	-	13	289
	Sec	2405	354	1634	4393
	Total	2405	354	1964	4723
Vic	Primary	3182	22	309	3513
	L Sec	8197	2216	2024	12437
	U Sec	85	94	305	484
	Year 12	28	32	165	225
	Sec	8282	2310	2329	12921
	Total	11464	2332	2638	16434
Qld	Primary	1697	-	589	2286
	L Sec	1011	180	N/A	1119
	U Sec	95	-	N/A	95
	Year 12	32	-	27	59
	Sec	1106	180	617	1903
	Total	2803	180	1206	4189
SA	Primary	3415	699	20	4134
	L Sec	1044	-	160	1204
	U Sec	84	1	51	136
	Year 12	N/A	-	23	23
	Sec	1128	1	211	1340
	Total	4543	700	231	5474
WA	Primary	530	-	327	857
	L Sec	153	-	883	1036
	U Sec	125	5	124	254
	Year 12	N/A	N/A	N/A	(70)
	Sec	278	5	1007	1290
	Total	808	5	1334	2147
Tas	Primary	-	-	-	-
	L Sec	2492	N/A	N/A	2492
	U Sec	69	N/A	N/A	69
	Year 12	N/A	N/A	N/A	61
	Sec	2561	150	215	2926
	Total	2561	150	215	2962
ACT*	Primary	1416	47	47	1510
	L Sec	717	81.5	81.5	880
	U Sec	49	2.5	2.5	54
	Year 12	19	1	1	21
	Sec	766	84	84	934
	Total	2182	131	131	2444
NT	Primary	2707	644	701	4052
	L Sec	1573	N/A	985	2558
	U Sec	332	N/A	24	356
	Year 12	37	6	N/A	43
	Sec	1905	195	1009	3109
	Total	4612	839	1710	7161
Australia	Primary	12947	1412	2323	16682
	Sec	18431	3278	7106	28815
	Year 12	392	39	229	791
	Total	31378	4690	9259	45497

Table 2.3
Numbers of Students of Indonesian/Malay by State, Level of Education and Schooling System, 1991

* In the statistics for the ACT, numbers of students in Independent and Catholic schools are combined. These figures have been arbitrarily divided by two to enable a calculation of the totals of each schooling system. This procedure is likely to have resulted in an overestimation of the numbers in the Catholic schools and an underestimation of numbers in Independent schools. Decimals have not been rounded off.

	NSW		Victoria		NT		SA*		WA		Qld		ACT		Tas		Total	
Year	Ind	BIM	Ind	BIM			Ind	BIM	Ind	BIM	Ind	BIM	Ind	BIM	Ind	BIM	Ind	BIM
1967																		181
1968																		445
1969																		590
1970																		960
1971																		1064
1972																		1147
1973																		968
1974	779		128				7	8	39	19	11				59		1023	27
1975	793		176				36	8	53	33	12				36		1106	41
1976	731		224				42	20	76	40	14				48		1135	60
1977	690		275				55	29	79	21	16		55		59		1229	50
1978	619		329				68	78	81	52	27		53		57		1234	130
1979	564		362				60	65	87	48	40		54		62		1229	113
1980	579		390				63	85	66	44	19		32		96		1245	129
1981	554		369				59	72	63	67	12		11		74		1142	139
1982	649		389				72	147	62	71	19		6		81		1278	218
1983	722		498				53	96	92	142	24		5		148		1542	238
1984	277	403	460				74	63	83	121	24		2		75		995	587
1985	221	362	434				65	38	81	87	38				51		890	487
1986	196	145	311				84	4	152		23				53		819	149
1987																	938	
1988	312	84	501		22		28		29		36		14		28		970	84
1991	289		225		43		23		(70)		59		21		61			791

Table 2.4:

Numbers of Matriculation (Year 12) Students of Indonesian/Malay by State and Type of Course *1967-1988.

* Table 2.4 is based on Hawley (1982):Tables 7, 7.1, 7.1.1-7.1.7; The National Policy on Languages (1987):28-29; Vox 2 (1989):6; and National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools 1988:Appendix Tables

* Indicates students who were enrolled in courses for second language learners, and BIM, those enrolled in courses for background speakers of the language. Only one figure is given for 1991 and it includes students in both Ind and BIM courses.

* Includes NT between 1974 and 1986.

() Estimate

It is also clear that between 1969 and 1991 the proportion of students in the secondary schools who persisted with the study of the language until Year 12 declined. In 1969 matriculation students learning the language accounted for 17.2% of all secondary students of the language. In 1975 and 1988, they accounted for only 5.55%, and by 1991, for just 2.75%. The percentage decline of matriculation students accords with the fact that the largest number of students studying Indonesian/Malay were to be found in the lower secondary schools (Years 7 to 10). In 1975 and 1988 students at this level made up 86% and 89.8% respectively of all secondary students of the language. In 1991, students at the lower secondary level accounted for 88.5% of all secondary students. These characteristics of the group of students studying Indonesian/Malay would also appear to be in accord with national trends for all groups of students studying languages other than English. In 1983 and in 1988 there were many fewer students studying languages other than English in the senior secondary school than in the lower secondary school and between these two years there was a 12% decline in enrolments at the upper secondary level (*National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools 1988: Table 10*).

Table 2.4 tabulates the numbers of matriculation students (Year 12) studying Indonesian/Malay by State and type of course for the period between 1967 and 1991. Although matriculation students accounted for an increasingly small proportion of the total number of students studying Indonesian/Malay, their numbers in fact increased between 1967 and 1988. In 1967 there were 181 matriculation students, all in New South Wales, and in 1988 there were 1,054 in all States and Territories. If we examine the years between 1967 and 1988 a little more closely, we discover that it falls into three phases. There is a sharp rise of the order of 534% in the number of matriculation students studying Indonesian between 1967 and 1972. Following a drop in the numbers between 1972 and 1973, there was a further increase between 1973 and 1983, this time a more gradual and sustained growth of the order of 84%. There was then a sudden drop in numbers between 1983 and 1988. In 1988 there were 41% fewer students in the final year of high schools studying Indonesian/Malay than there had been in 1983. This drop in numbers was due to a significant decrease in the numbers in New South Wales. Until 1988 there were noticeably more students at this level in New South Wales than there were in any other State. In part, this was due to the existence of 'Z' courses which permitted students to take up the study of languages other than English in the senior years of high school (Eltis and Cooney 1983: 50-5) and also to the fact that in New South Wales until 1988 there was a significantly better retention rate of students between Year 7 and Year 12 than in Victoria, the State where quite consistently since 1969 there have been more school students learning Indonesian/Malay than anywhere else in Australia.¹⁷ Between 1988 and 1991, there was a decrease in the numbers of these students due to a significant drop in their numbers in New South Wales and Victoria. The small increases in all other States was insufficient to compensate for the larger decrease in New South Wales and Victoria.

¹⁷ For further comment on the decline in numbers of matriculation students of Indonesian/Malay in New South Wales, see Chapter 4.

2.2.1.1 Students of Indonesian/Malay by State

Table 2.5 tabulates the numbers of students of Indonesian/Malay in Australian secondary schools by State for selected years between 1969 and 1991. Between 1969 and 1988, the largest numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay in secondary schools were in Victoria and New South Wales and it is these two States which account in the main for the increase in students studying the language in this period. Between 1969 and 1988, however, the proportion of students which these two States contributed to total numbers declined gradually as students in other States took up the study of the language. In 1969, Victoria and New South Wales accounted for 88.6% of all secondary students studying Indonesian/Malay. In that year Victoria accounted for 57.2% and New South Wales for 31.4% of the total. In 1975 the proportion was 74.2%, Victoria now accounting for 38.9%, and New South Wales for 35.3%. In 1988, 71.4% of secondary students of Indonesian/Malay were in Victoria and New South Wales, but now New South Wales, where the total number of students studying the language dropped between 1975 and 1988, accounted for only 19.6% of all secondary students of the language. In this year Victoria accounted for 51.3% of students. Numbers in all other States increased significantly after 1975 with the exception of South Australia and Western Australia where decreases of 206 and 64 respectively occurred.

Year		NSW	Vic	Qld	SA	WA	Tas	ACT	NT	Total
1969	No.	1077	1964	-	139	157	94	-	-	3431
	%	31.39	57.24	-	4.05	4.58	2.74	-	-	100.00
1975	No.	3850	4241	249	1170	732	146	486	21	10895
	%	35.34	38.93	2.29	10.74	6.72	1.34	4.46	0.19	100.00
1988	No.	3694	9746	733	1115	665	783	1135	1116	18987
	%	19.46	51.33	3.86	5.87	3.50	4.12	5.98	5.88	100.00
1991	No.	4393	12921	1903	1339	1290	2926	934	3109	28815
	%	15.25	44.84	6.60	4.65	4.48	10.15	3.24	10.79	100.00

Table 2.5
Secondary Students of Indonesian/Malay by State 1969 - 1991¹⁸

Between 1988 and 1991, as we have noted, numbers of secondary students studying Indonesian/Malay increased by 51.76%. Victoria continued to be the State where the largest numbers were found. The proportion of students of the language in this State decreased slightly from 51.3% in 1988 to 44.8% in 1991. New South Wales was still the State with the second largest number of students and the decline which took place between 1975 and 1988 had given way to a small increase between 1988 and 1991. However, the numbers in New South Wales were considerably lower than those in Victoria. There was a decrease in numbers in the ACT. Numbers in all other States increased in the period between 1988 and 1991. In the case of Tasmania and the Northern Territory the increases were quite significant.

Table 2.6 tabulates the numbers of students of Indonesian/Malay in primary schools by State for the years 1975, 1988 and 1991.

18 Table 2.5 is based on *Teaching Migrant Languages in Schools* (1976): Table 3/2, 3/3 and the information contained in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 above.

In 1975, the teaching of Indonesian/Malay at the primary level was confined to South Australia where there were 2,577 studying the language. In 1988 there were 1,880 students in South Australian primary schools studying the language but by this year the teaching of the language at primary level had spread to all other States. There were significant numbers in the Northern Territory (1,201), Victoria (825), the ACT (773) and in Western Australia (623). Numbers in other States were modest, New South Wales having the fewest. Between 1988 and 1991 the number of students studying Indonesian/Malay in primary schools increased from 5,938 to 16,682, an increase of 180.9%. There were significant increases in numbers in all States and Territories with the exception of Tasmania where the language was not taught at this level in 1991.

State		NSW	Vic	Qld	SA	WA	Tas	ACT	NT	Total
1975	No.	-	-	-	2577	-	-	-	-	2577
	%				100.00					100.00
1988	No.	168	825	270	1880	623	198	773	1201	5938
	%	2.83	13.89	4.55	31.66	10.49	3.34	13.02	20.23	100.00
1991	No.	330	3513	2286	4134	857	-	1510	4052	16682
	%	1.98	21.06	13.70	24.78	5.14	-	9.05	24.29	100.00

Table 2.6
Primary Students of Indonesian/Malay by State 1975-1991¹⁹

Statistics on how accessible the language was in the schools of different States and Territories are only available for 1983. The survey of language learning in Australian schools carried out in 1983 indicates that Indonesian/Malay was more widely available in the schools of the Northern Territory than any where else in Australia. It was taught there in 14.1% of schools. This compares with the national figure of 2.7% of schools and with Tasmania (5.25%), the ACT (3.8%), New South Wales (3.3%), South Australia (3.1%), Victoria (2.6%), Western Australia (1.2%) and Queensland (0.9%) (*The National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools 1983: Table 8*). No statistics on the availability of the language in schools are available for later years.

2.2.1.2 Students of Indonesian/Malay by education system

Tables 2.7 and 2.8 tabulate the numbers and percentages of students of Indonesian/Malay in primary and secondary schools in 1975, 1988 and 1991 by education system. We noted above that Wykes and King in their study of the generation of school students of 1957 until 1961 were of the opinion that, while French, Latin and German were taught in all educational systems, small languages like Indonesian/Malay were a feature of the Independent schools. By 1975 this was no longer the case. Indonesian/Malay was taught in all schooling systems but it was in Government schools at secondary level that the largest numbers were found. In this year 70.62% of all students studying Indonesian/Malay were doing so in Government secondary schools, while in 1988 61.17% of secondary school students studying the language were in Government schools. In 1988 at the primary level too 82.84% of pupils were in Government schools. This compares with Independent secondary schools, where in 1975

¹⁹ Table 2.6 is based on *Teaching Migrant Languages in Schools* (1976) and the information contained in Tables 2.2. and 2.3 above.

18.29% of all students studying the language at secondary level were to be found, and in 1988, where 22.83% were to be found. In 1988, 16.28% of primary pupils studying Indonesian/Malay were in Independent schools. In 1975, 11.09% of secondary students studying Indonesian/Malay were in Catholic schools, where in 1988 the proportion had increased to 16%. At the primary level in 1988 less than 1% of pupils studying the language came from Catholic schools.

Year	Government		Catholic		Independent		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1975	7694	70.62	1208	11.09	1993	18.29	10895
1988	11614	61.17	3038	16.00	4335	22.83	18987
1991	18431	63.96	3278	11.38	7106	24.66	28815

Table 2.7
Secondary Students of Indonesian/Malay by Education System 1975-1991²⁰

	Government		Catholic		Independent		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1988	4919	82.84	52	0.88	967	16.28	5938
1991	12947	77.61	1412	8.46	2323	13.93	16682

Table 2.8
Primary Students Indonesian/Malay by Education System 1988 and 1991²¹

Between 1988 and 1991, when there was an increase of 51.76% in the numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay in secondary schools, the proportion of these students in Government and Independent schools increased from 61.17% to 63.96% and 22.83% to 24.66% respectively, while that in Catholic schools declined. In primary schools there was an increase of 180.9% in the numbers of students. The proportion of these students in Government and Independent schools decreased while that in Catholic schools increased from 0.88% to 8.46%.

Whatever the absolute numbers of students in each system were in the period, all systems participated in the growth in numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay at primary and secondary levels. Above we noted that between 1975 and 1988 total numbers of secondary students studying the language had risen by 8,092 or 72.3%. The largest contribution to this percentage increase in the period came from Government schools (48.4%). This compares with 28.9% from Independent schools and 22.6% from Catholic schools. Between 1988 and 1991 it was again Government schools which contributed most to the increase in numbers of secondary students of Indonesian/Malay (69.36%), while Independent and Catholic schools contributed only 28.19% and 2.44% to the increase in these years. At the primary level between 1988 and 1991 Government schools again made the largest contribution to the increase in numbers (74.72%), which compares with 12.62% in Independent schools and 12.66% in Catholic schools.

Again only the 1983 survey of language learning in Australian schools provides us with statistical information on the availability of the language in schools in each system. Compared with the national figure of 2.7% of all schools teaching Indonesian/Malay, 11.0% of Independent schools taught the language, while 2.3% of Government and 1.6% of Catholic schools did so. A similar pattern is evident at the primary level where in 1983, 1.3% of Independent schools taught

²⁰ Table 2.7 is based on *Teaching Migrant Languages in Schools* (1976) Table 3/2 and the information contained in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 above.

²¹ Table 2.8 is based on the information in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 above.

Indonesian/Malay, compared with Government schools (0.2%) and Catholic schools (0.2%) (*National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools 1983:Table 5.5*). We do not have any statistics on the number of schools teaching Indonesian/Malay for later years.

2.2.1.3 Students of Indonesian/Malay by gender

Table 2.9 tabulates the numbers and percentages of all students of languages other than English by gender and level of education for the year 1988. Table 2.10 does the same for students of Indonesian/Malay.²² Wykes and King's study of the generation of high school students passing through school between 1957 and 1963 indicated that girls preferred language study and had a greater persistence in the study of languages than boys (Wykes 1966: Table B). It will be seen from Table 2.9 that more girls studied languages other than English in Australian schools in 1988 than boys. While the proportions of girls and boys are almost equal at the primary level, in the secondary schools a significantly larger proportion of girls study these languages than do boys.

	Primary		Secondary		Total	
Sex	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Numbers	79,768	79,358	157,166	204,497	236,934	283,855
Percent	50.12	49.87	43.46	56.54	45.5	54.5

Table 2.9
Students of Languages other than English by Gender and Level of Education 1988²³

	Primary		Secondary		Total	
Sex	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Numbers	2,167	1,723	8,862	8,753	11,029	10,476
Percent	55.71	44.29	50.31	49.69	51.29	48.71

Table 2.10
Students of Indonesian/Malay by Gender and Level of Education 1988²⁴

This tendency was not in evidence in 1988 amongst students of Indonesian/Malay. In this year there was a predominance of males over females studying Indonesian/Malay. Nationally, primary and secondary levels taken together, boys were in a small majority in 1988, accounting for 51.3% of the total student numbers. The percentage of girls was 48.7%. It was at the primary level that boys were in the clearest majority. At this level boys were 55.7% of all students and girls 44.3%. At the secondary level numbers of boys and girls were almost equal, boys accounting for 50.3% of total numbers and girls for 49.7%. Nor did it seem true in 1988 that girls displayed greater persistence in the study of the language. In 1988 males accounted for 50.15% of the total number of matriculation students studying the language and girls 49.85%.²⁵

22 1988 is the only year for which we have statistical evidence on which to base our opinion.
23 Table 2.7 is taken from Nicholas *et al.* 1992:277 and is based upon *National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools 1988:Table 9*.
24 Table 2.8 is based on *National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools 1988:Appendix Tables*.
25 Statistical information on matriculation students in 1988 was drawn from the *National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools 1988, Appendix Tables, 'Responses to the Survey by State'*. There were 515 boys and 512 girls in Year 12 studying Indonesian/Malay. Statistical data for total gender distribution was based on Table 9 in the same survey. The statistical information on which this latter table is based was only 86% of the total data because not all systems provided the necessary information.

2.2.1.4 Conclusions

We have seen above that the period in which Indonesian/Malay was established in Australian education saw a number of very significant changes in the educational environment. Considerably greater numbers of students continued their studies in the upper secondary schools, characterised by a curriculum no longer designed for an academic elite but for the benefit of all students. Despite the greater participation of students in senior high schools, the numbers of students choosing to study languages other than English have made up an increasingly smaller proportion of total student numbers. The decline in the study of languages other than English has occurred despite an expansion in the number of languages available for study and despite important changes in the manner in which languages have been taught and examined.

It has been within an educational environment, in which only a small proportion of all students have chosen to study an increasingly varied range of languages other than English that Indonesian/Malay has become one of the most studied languages in Australian education. In 1991, more than 45,000 students were learning Indonesian/Malay, increasing by 20,000 between 1988 and 1991, the years following the publication of the *National Policy on Languages*, and a time when State and Territory governments also had adopted policies concerning teaching languages other than English. While the increase in the total numbers of students has been considerable, still the proportion of students who have persisted with the study of the language until Year 12 has remained small. In this respect, however, students of Indonesian/Malay have conformed to a pattern evident amongst students of all languages other than English.

In contrast to the general tendency for more girls to study languages than boys, in 1988 boys were in a majority amongst students of Indonesian/Malay at both the primary and secondary levels of education. At all times throughout the period, the vast majority of students studying the language have been in Government schools. Victoria has consistently been the State which has taught most students of Indonesian/Malay and the recent increase in numbers in this State at both primary and secondary levels has been particularly significant. The language is now taught in all States and Territories and the increase in the numbers of students, particularly in primary schools, since 1988 has been considerable. Increases in South Australia and the Northern Territory at the primary and secondary level and in Tasmania at the secondary level have been particularly good. Exceptions to this general trend have been New South Wales and the ACT. In New South Wales the small increase in numbers since 1988 at the secondary level and the small numbers in primary schools are cause for concern. In the ACT numbers in the secondary schools have also dropped since 1988. In this case, however, there has been an important growth in numbers in the primary schools.

While the language has become widely available for study in Australian schools and significantly larger numbers of students have chosen to study the language, the position of Indonesian/Malay in relationship to other languages has varied. We have seen that there were until the mid 1960s few students who studied the language in Australian schools. During the decade between 1965 and 1975, when numbers of students learning the language expanded rapidly, matriculation students learning Indonesian/Malay increased from 0.82% to 7.6% of all students studying languages at this level. It was in this period that the

matriculation candidature of students of Indonesian/Malay rose from being the sixth largest to the third largest candidature after French and German (Working Party 1976:Table 2.6). At this time it was the fifth most studied language in primary schools and the fourth most studied language and most widely available language in secondary schools, behind French, German and Italian (*Teaching Migrant Languages* 1976:Table 2/1, Table 3/1, Table 3/2).

By 1983, the year in which the numbers of matriculation students learning Indonesian/Malay reached their peak, they accounted for 11.22% of all students studying languages other than English at that level and, together with the group learning Italian, were still the third largest candidature (*National Policy on Languages* 1987:28-29).²⁶ In this same year Indonesian/Malay was overall the fourth most studied language in Australian schools, but studied by only 0.88% of all school students (*National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools* 1988:Table 3.10).

As we have seen, the numbers studying Indonesian/Malay dropped by 8% between 1983 and 1988. The drop in numbers of matriculation students was much more dramatic, falling by 65.2% in these years. In 1988, it was nevertheless still the fifth most widely studied language in Australian secondary schools behind French, German, Italian and Japanese, and, as such, one of the top eight languages which 96% of Australian Secondary school students learnt. At the primary level in this same year it was the sixth most learnt language behind Italian, German, French, Greek and Japanese. It was at this level one of the top seven languages which 89% of all students studying languages other than English were learning (*National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools* 1988:Tables 2 and 3).

The small proportion of students of Indonesian/Malay who have persisted with the study of this language in the upper secondary school and Year 12 gives real cause for concern, especially when one considers that only a small number of these students goes on to study the language in higher education. In this situation, there can only be a few students, beyond a small number of background speakers of the language, who have a proficiency in Indonesian/Malay which approaches that which is required in the workplace. Certainly the numbers are too few to provide for the projected levels required for the future.

Achieving the level of future demand will require reversing an historical trend which has been evident since Indonesian/Malay began to be taught in Australian education. We have noted above that, while the numbers of Year 12 students of Indonesian/Malay increased between 1969 and 1988, Year 12 students of the language have accounted for an increasingly small proportion of all secondary school students studying the language. Between 1988 and 1991 the trend has continued as the number of Year 12 students studying Indonesian/Malay dropped to the levels of the period between 1969 and 1975.

The encouraging growth in the numbers of students studying the language in primary and lower secondary schools between 1988 and 1991, however, suggests that in the near future we could well see an increase in numbers in the senior

26 The matriculation candidature for French was 5,428, for German 2,985, Italian and Indonesian/Malay 1,890, Modern Greek 1,624, Chinese 1,043 and Japanese 599.

secondary school and Year 12. If there are to be sufficient numbers of Australians who possess proficiency in Indonesian/Malay to enable them to find gainful employment in business, education and government service in the future, strategies will have to be developed to increase the proportion of students who persist with the study of the language into Year 12. Only then are we likely to create a corps of students with the training and predisposition to study Indonesian/Malay in higher education who on graduation will possess high levels of proficiency in the language. The fact that at present only a small proportion of students pursue the study of any language to Year 12 suggests that the problem is not just one attached to the study of Indonesian/Malay. Careful attention must be paid to the reasons why students abandon the study of Indonesian/Malay and other languages on entering the senior secondary schools. We shall return to this issue in Chapters 3, 4 and 7.

2.2.2 Higher education

The pattern of growth and decline which characterised the study of Indonesian/Malay in higher education was different in this period than that in schools. Table 2.11 tabulates the numbers of undergraduate students in institutions of higher education who were enrolled in courses of Indonesian/Malay in selected years between 1964 and 1990. It also includes the numbers of institutions in which these students were studying.

It was in the mid 1950s that the Commonwealth Government initiated the teaching of Indonesian/Malay at the Universities of Melbourne and Sydney and at the then University College of Canberra, where departments of Indonesian and Malayan Studies were established. Until the mid 1960s there were few enrolments in these departments. In 1964, Monash University in Melbourne also began to teach the language so that in 1964 Indonesian/Malay was available at four universities in the ACT, New South Wales and Victoria. Wykes, in her survey of the teaching of foreign languages in Australian universities, calculated that in 1964 there were 202 students who were studying Indonesian/Malay (Wykes 1966:30-1, Table H). This figure, however, did not include students at the University of Sydney, where there were 364 studying the language.²⁷ The total number of students was then 566. At this stage French, German and Latin dominated language programs in universities as they did in the schools. Enrolments in these latter languages ranged between 960 and 3,000 students.

In her report Wykes discussed retention rates and noted that in the case of Indonesian/Malay there was a big drop out between first and second years. In 1964, according to Wykes, students who were majoring in Indonesian/Malay in Australian universities accounted for only 4.45% of total enrolments of students studying the language. This figure compared with French and German, in which students majoring in these languages accounted respectively for 10.36% and 10.31% of total enrolments. Wykes commented that 'it might have been thought those who tackled a new Asian language at the university would be eager to continue, but the drop-out is as great as in any other language' (Wykes 1966:31,

27 Oral communication, Statistics, University of Sydney.

Table H. See also 21-2, 28-9 and Table H for the comparison with French and German).

Year	Number of Students			Number of Institutions		
	Uni	CAE	Total	Uni	CAE	Total
1964	566 [#]	-	566	4	-	4
1975	649 [#]	392	1041	5	7	12
1981	607 [#]	337	944	8	9	17
1983	492	168	660	-	-	-
1986	495	216	711	-	-	16
1988	-	-	951	-	-	-
1990	-	-	1258	-	-	20

Table 2.11
*Numbers of Students of Indonesian/Malay and of Institutions of Higher Education Offering Courses in Indonesian/Malay 1964-1986.*²⁸
[#] Includes Indonesian and Malay

In 1975, following almost a decade of growth in numbers, five universities and seven colleges of advanced education were teaching Indonesian/Malay to a total number of 1,041 students; 649 of these students were in universities and 392 were in colleges of advanced education (Hawley 1982:Tables 1.2 and 6.2). The number of students studying Indonesian/Malay in four universities had dropped to 209 in 1970 but by 1973 the numbers of these students had increased again to 241, and in 1975 there were 649. In 1974 James Cook University had joined the four universities which had been teaching the language since the mid 60s. In the early 1970s, the University of Sydney, with a student load of 77 in 1970 and 79 in 1974, had the largest numbers. Monash and the Australian National University had loads of 58 and 52 in 1970 and 64 and 51 in 1974. In 1974, James Cook's student load in Indonesian was seven (Working Party 1976:Table 2.1, Table 2.7 and Table 2.9).²⁹ The 649 students learning Indonesian/Malay in universities in 1975 accounted for 1.5% of all BA students and just 0.5% of all undergraduates (see Table 2.15). Between 1970 and 1973, the language moved from being the fifth most studied language in Australian universities to being third (Working Party 1976:13, Table 3.2). In 1975, the 392 students in colleges of advanced education learning the language accounted for 27.1% of all students studying languages other than English, and Indonesian/Malay was the most studied language in colleges of advanced education. It was one of five languages (Indonesian/Malay, French, Japanese, German and Italian) which accounted for 85.9% of all students studying languages in colleges of advanced education (based on Hawley 1982:Table 6.2).

Between 1975 and 1983, the numbers of students enrolled in courses of Indonesian/Malay in tertiary education declined significantly. In 1983 enrolments in universities and colleges of advanced education were only 660 students, 492 in universities and 168 in colleges of advanced education.

In the case of colleges of advanced education, the numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay had gradually increased through the 1970s, but then dropped between 1980 and 1983. In 1975 there were seven colleges of advanced education

²⁸ Table 2.11 is based upon Wykes (1966):Table H; Hawley (1982):Table 1.2; Asian Studies Council Secretariat (1987):Table 1; Brown and MacKay (1991):Table 7A.

²⁹ These figures may well be underestimates, because numbers from the University of Melbourne were not included.

teaching the language to a total of 392 students. By 1980, there were ten teaching 427 students, but in 1981 the numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay dropped to 337, now taught in nine colleges (Hawley 1982:Table 6.3.2). In 1983, the numbers of students in colleges of advanced education were as low as 168. In 1981, students of Indonesian/Malay accounted for only 14.4% of all students studying a language other than English in colleges of advanced education. In this year it was the third of the six languages which accounted for 83% of all students of languages in colleges of advanced education. Italian and Modern Greek had more students and Japanese, German and French had fewer (Hawley 1982:71 Table 6.2).

In the period between 1975 and 1981, the numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay in universities decreased by 6.5%. Hawley records enrolments of 649 in the language in 1975, but by 1981 enrolments had dropped to 607. In 1983 they were 492. The decrease in numbers of students occurred in these years despite the fact that by 1976 there were courses available in eight universities in five States and Territories. Following the opening of courses at James Cook in northern Queensland in 1974, Indonesian/Malay language courses began at Murdoch in 1975 and at Griffith University in Brisbane and The Flinders University in Adelaide in 1976. In the universities where the subject had been taught for some time, enrolments dropped substantially between 1975 and 1981. At the Australian National University the drop was from 149 enrolments to 93, at the University of Sydney from 180 to 113 and at the University of Melbourne from 121 to 86. At Monash University, where numbers had risen from 106 to 149 between 1974 and 1975, numbers enrolling in the subject also dropped. In 1981 they were down to 99. At James Cook numbers also dropped from 29 to 12 in these years. It was only in the newly established courses at Flinders, Griffith and Murdoch universities that increases in numbers were recorded. At Griffith University numbers rose from 29 to 92 between 1976 and 1981, at Flinders they rose from 16 to 21 and at Murdoch they rose from 21 to 81 in the same period. Clearly these increases in three new courses were inadequate to compensate entirely for the more substantial losses in the older established courses (Hawley 1982:Tables 3.1, 3.2.5, 3.3.2, 3.3.3, 3.4.1, 3.4.2, 3.5.2, 3.6.1). Hawley expressed surprise at this situation because 'the pattern in other languages indicated that new courses usually had an immediate effect of increasing enrolment numbers' (Hawley 1982:31).

The decrease in enrolments in universities also took place despite retention rates between first and third year above the average for all other languages. The average retention rates for the cohorts of 1976-78, 1977-79, 1978-80 and 1979-81 for all languages were 23.04%, 22.50%, 23.01% and 21.2%. The rates for Indonesian/Malay in these same years were 27.16%, 34.09%, 30.79%, and 25.44%, rates which were bettered only by Modern Greek and Japanese and which were the same as those for Chinese (Hawley 1982:Tables 2.1.3 [All Languages], 2.2.3 [French], 2.3.3 [German], 2.4.3 [Italian], 2.5.3 [Japanese] and 2.6.3 [Indonesian]). The problem, then, seemed to be that students were not attracted to take up the study of Indonesian/Malay at this time.

We have no data on the gender of students studying Indonesian/Malay in universities at this time. However, the returns to Hawley's survey of students in 1981 indicate that 77% of the 2,144 who responded to the questionnaire were female. Whether or not enrolments of students studying Indonesian/Malay

conform to this pattern is not clear. However, we shall see that the gender pattern of respondents to Hawley's questionnaire do conform to Ingleson's calculations for 1989 and that of Leal *et al.* for 1990 (Ingleson 1989:143; Leal *et al.* 1991 1:115).

Despite the drop in numbers, in 1981 the 607 students in universities studying Indonesian/Malay still accounted for as much as 1.1% of BA students and 0.3% of all undergraduates in universities. By 1981, however, Indonesian/Malay was the fifth most studied language but still one of the seven most studied languages which accounted for 82% of all language students in Australian universities (Hawley 1982:17-18, Table 1.2).

Between 1983 and 1986, there was a small increase of 7.7% in the numbers of students studying the language. In 1986, 711 students were recorded as studying the language. There were 495 in universities and 216 in colleges of advanced education (Asian Studies Council 1987:Table 1). The increase in numbers of students enrolled in courses of Indonesian/Malay continued until 1990. In 1988, there were 951 and in 1990 there were 1,258. Between 1986 and 1990, then, there was an increase of 76.9% in the number of students enrolled in courses in this language (Brown and Mackay 1991:Table 7A).³⁰ In 1988, Indonesian/Malay was the sixth most studied language in Australian higher education. French, Japanese, German and Italian, the four most studied languages, accounted for 67.2% of the total numbers, while Chinese and Indonesian accounted for a further 10.7% of enrolments (*The Language of Australia* 1990:22).³¹ According to Ingleson in this year only 0.59% of the total undergraduate student load (EFTSUs) in universities and colleges of advanced education was in Asian languages and of these students, only 9.59% were taking Indonesian/Malay compared with 64.48% and 21.98% who were studying Japanese and Chinese respectively (Ingleson 1989 1:62-3). In 1990, it was the fourth most widely available language and the seventh most learned behind Japanese, French, Italian, German, Chinese and Spanish. In 1990 it was one of eight languages which 92.7% of students in Australian higher education studied (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:66-67, Tables 3 and 4).

Table 2.12 tabulates the EFTSUs of undergraduate students in institutions of higher education throughout Australia who were enrolled in courses of Indonesian/Malay in selected years between 1988 and 1992. The trend recorded by Brown and McKay is confirmed by Table 2.12. Between 1988 and 1992, the EFTSUs of students enrolled in courses of Indonesian/Malay increased from 200.20 to 502.96, an increase of 151.2%. The increase in EFTSUs was apparent across all States.

Some comment is required on the principles which underlie these statistics. The present statistics, like those compiled by Ingleson in 1988, are for undergraduate students only. They are, therefore, not comparable with those published by Leal *et al.* for the year 1990. The EFTSU count contained in Leal *et al.* are the totals for each department teaching the language and include postgraduate students and courses other than language courses taught by these departments.

³⁰ The figures are only for undergraduate students enrolled in courses of Indonesian/Malay.

³¹ This publication records 1,410 students studying at least one unit of Indonesian/Malay for 1988. Brown and McKay, however, report only 951 students of the language in 1988.

Leal *et al.* have respected the integrity of programs of study of language departments, but their manner of counting students has the disadvantage of not identifying courses taught by language departments which are taught in English and which do not require a knowledge of Indonesian/Malay. Ingleson, as well as Brown and McKay, have attempted to exclude the EFTSU count for the latter courses. However, as Brown and McKay explain in a note to their statistical table presented to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, 'defining the boundaries of language courses is not easy'. They, like Ingleson, have been zealous in their exclusion of any course on 'literature, culture, the press etc.' on the grounds that '[s]ome of these courses may draw on knowledge of the Indonesian language, but the bulk appear not to'. One would have little objection in principle to the exclusion of courses in which no knowledge of Indonesian/Malay was required. However, some of these courses do demand the analysis of a considerable corpus of Indonesian/Malay language material, whether in written form or in the form of audio or video tapes. In such cases, courses not only contribute significantly to the development of students' reading and listening skills, but the analysis of the material contributes to the students' communicative competence because such courses provide the opportunity to examine the way in which language, as the material medium of ideas and values, is conditioned by the specific social conditions in which it is used. Students are sensitised to who speaks what and in which circumstances. Such analysis adds a self-conscious and intelligent awareness to the process of communicating in another language which might otherwise be understood to be a purely intuitive and mechanical process.

At the present juncture, there is no easy solution to overcoming the dilemma posed by different methods of counting students in language courses. In the long run, the development of a national proficiency rating scale for Indonesian/Malay will allow a count of students graduating with different levels of proficiency in the language (see Chapter 5). In the meantime, the present report has gone down the path of counting only those courses which are narrowly defined as language courses, largely in the interest of enabling a comparison of student numbers over the period 1988-1992.

Between 1988 and 1992, there are significant differences in the pattern of enrolments across institutions offering the language. Table 2.13 tabulates the EFTSUs in institutions of higher education by range of EFTSUs for selected years between 1988 and 1992.

While in 1988 no institution had enrolments of greater than 40 EFTSUs and there were only four institutions with enrolments greater than 20, by 1992 there were three institutions of higher education with enrolments of greater than 40 EFTSUs and 12 with enrolments of 20 EFTSUs or more. In 1988, the University of Sydney had the largest undergraduate enrolment with 30.00 EFTSUs followed by Griffith with 28.51, the Australian National University with 25.90 and Monash with 20.50. Three of these institutions were universities where the subject had been taught since the mid 1960s. In 1992, however, the university with the largest enrolment was Griffith with 53.60 EFTSUs, followed by Deakin (42.75), The Australian National University (40.48), Flinders (36.30), La Trobe (35.58), the University College of Southern Queensland (now the University of Southern Queensland) (34.75), the University of Sydney (34.10) and Murdoch with 29.20 EFTSUs. With the exception of the Australian National University and the

University of Sydney, the other universities are ones where the subject had been introduced in the mid 1970s and 1980s.

Year		1988	1990	1991	1992
State	Institution				
ACT	ANU	25.90	28.56	31.90	40.48
Total		25.90	28.56	31.90	40.48
NSW	Charles Sturt	0.00	11.50	6.00	(13)
	Sydney	[30.00]*	32.6*	31.6*	34.10
	UNSW	-	9.30	22.00	22.00
	UWS	-	-	-	#
	UNE	0.00	3.60	[10.00]	19.09
	Wollongong	-	(84)	(91)	(22)
Total		30.00	57.00	69.60	75.19
Vic	Deakin/ Victoria College	12.27*	33.50*	43.50*	42.75
	La Trobe	(34)	26.52	35.48	35.58
	Bendigo / UC Nth Victoria	4.70	4.20	12.85	14.60
	Melbourne	14.50	13.83	[16.00]	21.74
	Monash	20.50	17.75	18.50	24.25
	Phillip IT	0.00	5.58	0.00	4.16
Total		51.97	101.38	126.33	143.08
SA	Flinders	15.82	32.70	38.00	36.30
	Adelaide/ SACAE	(49)	9.67	[11.00]	13.50
Total		15.82	42.37	49.00	49.80
Qld	Griffith	28.51	21.12	24.25	53.60
	James Cook	8.90	7.14	16.00	5.15
	QUT	-	#	#	7.5
	UC Sth QLD (USQ)	18.50	19.10	22.50	34.75
Total		55.91	47.36	62.75	101.00
WA	Curtin	8.50	15.40	14.98	14.97
	Murdoch	12.10	19.40	24.90	29.20
Total		20.60	34.80	39.88	44.17
NT	UNT	-	8.37	[12.00]	19.39
Total		-	8.37	[12.00]	19.39
Tas	Tasmania	-	-	17.97	29.85
Total		-	-	17.97	29.85
Total EFTSUs		200.20	319.84	409.43	502.96

Table 2.12
Undergraduate Students (EFTSUs) of Indonesian/Malay in Australian Higher Education 1988-1992 by Institution and State or Territory.³²
[] Estimate. * Figures adjusted. # Figures not available () Student numbers.
These figures have not been calculated in EFTSU totals.

Table 2.14 tabulates the percentage of student enrolments in Indonesian/Malay by State for selected years between 1975 and 1992. It can be seen that Victoria has consistently accounted for the largest proportion of students across the period between 1975 and 1992. However, the percentage of Victorian students progressively declined from 41.6% in 1975 to 28.45% in 1992. While New South Wales was the State which accounted for the second largest percentage of students of Indonesian/Malay in 1975 (27.7%), by 1992 it accounted for the third largest percentage (14.95%), and Queensland, which accounted for only 4.5% of

32 Table 2.10 is based upon the statistics presented by Mrs Elaine McKay and Dr Colin Brown to the Enquiry into Australia's Relations with Indonesia conducted by the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. The information was compiled by Mrs Heather Westwood and Mrs Val Kitchener. In the present table, Brown and McKay's figures have been adjusted in the light of the information collected from institutions of higher education by the present enquiry of the NLLA Profile Project for Indonesian/Malay.

students of the language in 1975, had the second largest in 1992 (20.08%), despite some volatility in the intervening years.

EFTSUs	1988	1990	1991	1992
50+	-	-	-	1
40 - 49	-	-	1	2
30 - 39	1	3	4	4
20 - 29	3	3	4	5
10 - 19	5	6	9	5
<10	3	7	1	3
No Information	4	1	3	2
Total	16	20	22	22

Table 2.13
EFTSU of Students of Indonesian/Malay in Institutions of Higher Education by Range of EFTSUs between 1988 and 1992.

State	1975	1981	1988	1990	1991	1992
ACT	23.00	15.32	12.94	8.93	7.79	8.05
NSW	27.7	18.61	14.99	17.82	17.00	14.95
Vic	41.6	30.47	25.96	31.7	30.83	28.45
Qld	4.5	17.13	27.93	14.81	15.33	20.08
SA	-	5.10	7.98	13.25	11.98	9.9
WA	3.2	13.34	10.29	10.88	9.74	8.78
NT	-	-	-	2.62	2.93	3.86
Tas	-	-	-	-	4.39	5.93
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 2.14
Percentage of Student Enrolments of Indonesian/Malay by State between 1975 and 1992³³

The statistical information gathered during the present inquiry does not permit the calculation of retention rates of students enrolled in courses of Indonesian/Malay in higher education. Nor do Ingleson or Leal *et al.* provide any statistical information on retention rates for any language. Ingleson does, however, comment on those for Chinese and Japanese, expressing concern that less than a quarter of those who took up the study of Chinese and Japanese in the first year proceed to third year (Ingleson 1989:166-167). There is evidence that a similar situation prevailed in the case of Indonesian/Malay for the period 1983-86. The proportion of students enrolled in first year courses in the language ranged between 48.37% in 1983, 53.8% in 1984 and 46.05% in 1986 of all undergraduate students who completed a unit of study of the language in universities and colleges of advanced education (Asian Studies Council 1987:Tables 3 and 4). Whether or not these rates still pertained in later years must await further investigation.

Ingleson and Leal *et al.* provide information on the gender of students enrolled in courses of Indonesian/Malay. In 1989 Ingleson has calculated that 65.8% of students of Indonesian/Malay amongst the respondents to his survey of students of Asian languages was female (Ingleson 1989 I:143). In 1990, according to Leal *et al.*, women accounted for 75% of all students of Indonesian/Malay over a range of 60% to 90%. This is the same pattern as for students of Japanese and less than for all other languages with the exception of Chinese, which had a female candidature of 60% over a range of 40% to 70%. The percentage for Indonesian/Malay is similar to that for women studying all languages which

33 The table is based upon Tables 2.9 and 2.10 above. Please note that the percentages for the years 1975 and 1981 do not include colleges of advanced education and are those for universities only.

was 70% and is lower than that for French, German, Spanish and Italian which had a mean of about 80%. As Leal *et al.* note, the gender bias amongst students of languages other than English is not surprising since most language programs in Australian institutions of higher education are offered by departments in faculties of arts or education. Students in these faculties are predominantly women (Leal *et al.* 1991 I:115).³⁴

2.2.2.1 Conclusions

As we have seen, the numbers of students of Indonesian/Malay have increased substantially in Australian higher education since 1964. By 1990, numbers had more than recovered from the slump of the late 1970s and early 1980s and the continuing national trend of growing numbers through to 1992 is very encouraging. If this trend continues, there is every reason to believe that by the end of the century there will be substantial numbers of students graduating with the language and cultural skills the nation will require to provide for its educational needs, as well as the skills base to manage our international relationships with Indonesia and Malaysia, including the business relationships between Australia and our two important northern neighbours.

	1964	1975	1981	1990 [#]
French % LOTE	41.9	31.2	32.8	17.76
Indonesian/Malay % of LOTE	7.9	6.5	5.9	5.5
French % of BA	12.4	7.2	7.1	-
Indonesian/Malay % of BA	2.4	1.5	1.3	-
LOTE % of BA	29.73	22.97	21.62	-
French % of Undergraduates	-	2.4	-	0.34*
Indonesian/Malay % of Undergraduates	-	0.5	-	0.1*
LOTE % of Undergraduates	-	7.60	7.09	1.899*

Table 2.15
Students of Indonesian/Malay and French as Proportions of All Languages other than English (LOTE), All BA, All Undergraduate Students in Universities³⁵

[#] The statistics for 1990 are based on the total EFTSUs for language departments.
^{*} These statistics for 1990 are for all students in higher education.

Be that as it may, it is important at this point to call attention to another aspect of enrolment trends in the language. Table 2.15 records the number of students of French and of Indonesian/Malay as a proportion of all students of languages other than English, of all BA students, and of all undergraduates, for selected years between 1964 and 1990. It also includes the proportion of students of languages other than English as a proportion of all BA students and of all undergraduates in these same years. It is immediately apparent that students of languages other than English have accounted for a decreasing proportion of all BA students and all undergraduates. The decrease in the proportion of students of French and Indonesian/Malay parallels the decrease in the proportion of students of languages other than English of the total numbers of BA students and all undergraduates. Languages other than English have become increasingly

³⁴ The percentages are based on the rough estimates of heads of departments but accord with calculations based upon a survey of language students commissioned by Leal *et al.* and the findings of several case studies.

³⁵ Table 2.13 is based on Wykes (1966):Table C, Hawley (1982):Table 1.2 and Leal *et al.* I (1991):Table 4 (students in universities only).

peripheral in Australian higher education since 1964. Comparison of the percentages of students of Indonesian/Malay with those of French as well as those of all students studying languages other than English and all BA students and all undergraduates indicates that, at all times throughout the period between 1955 and 1990, Indonesian/Malay has been peripheral in an area of Australian higher education which itself has become increasingly peripheral. Moreover, it is clear that during the period Indonesian/Malay has attracted gradually less interest amongst students in higher education than have other languages. While in 1974 Indonesian/Malay was the third most studied language in universities, and in 1975 the most studied language in colleges of advanced education, by 1990 it was only the seventh most learned language in higher education in Australia.

2.3 General Conclusions

We have noted above a substantial increase in the numbers of students enrolled in courses of Indonesian/Malay in Australian schools and higher education in the period between 1988 and 1991. However, in a period in which school students have not been required to study languages as part of a core curriculum or to matriculate to higher education, they have been given a freedom of choice and have plainly chosen to study subjects other than languages. A similar freedom of choice has also existed in higher education. We have noted that the attitudes to the study of these languages revealed in surveys of public opinion particularly at the end of this period suggest that the choices which students have made reflect attitudes more generally held in the Australian community.

It is not surprising, then, to discover, when we examine these same public opinion polls, that they too trace the same decline of interest in the study of Indonesian/Malay relative to other languages which we have observed in the case of student choice. Between 1963 and 1975 the matriculation candidature of Indonesian/Malay rose from being the sixth largest to third largest. In the mid 1970s it was the fourth most studied language in Australian secondary schools, the third in universities and the first in colleges of advanced education. In the early 1980s, it was the fifth most-studied language in universities and the third in colleges of advance education. In secondary schools, however, it remained the fourth most studied language and the matriculation candidature was still the third largest. By the end of the 1980s, despite increasing numbers learning the language in schools and in universities, it had dropped to the fifth place in secondary education and sixth in tertiary institutions. In 1990 Indonesian/Malay had lost its position as sixth most studied language other than English in Australian higher education and become seventh.

The same trend is apparent in surveys of public opinion. In 1963 respondents to the question 'Which foreign languages (from a list of languages) do you think should be taught in our schools?' indicated that Indonesian/Malay was the third most important language to teach after French and German. In 1977 respondents were asked the question: 'Which of these (listed) languages, if any, would you like to see taught to a greater extent than at present?' On this occasion respondents were of the opinion that Indonesian/Malay was the fourth most

important after French, Italian and Japanese. A year later, in 1978, respondents were asked to list those foreign languages which they thought should be taught in schools and rated Indonesian/Malay fifth after French, Italian, German and Japanese. Finally, in 1989, respondents were asked to choose those subject areas on a given list which they thought ought to be taught more than they were. Those who had chosen the areas of Asian or European languages were then asked to indicate particular languages. The responses on this occasion rated Indonesian/Malay sixth after Japanese, French, German, Italian, Modern Greek, and Chinese (Goot 1990:122-123, Tables 1 and 2).

In seeking to understand the history of Indonesian/Malay in Australian education in this period two matters call for explanation. The first is the very significant decline in the numbers and proportion of students in senior secondary schools and in institutions of higher education who have shown interest in studying languages other than English. The second is the lessening interest in the study of Indonesian/Malay among those students who have chosen to study these languages. When answering these two questions, perhaps the most significant point to be drawn from the evidence presented in this chapter is that we are called upon to explain a general educational and cultural environment in which indifference to the learning of languages other than English has been so notable a characteristic, as well as to account for the particularities of the Indonesian/Malay case. It is to these questions that we shall turn in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

3 BEGINNINGS 1955-1970

3.1 Introduction

How are we to account for the general condition of the teaching and learning of languages other than English and more particularly of Indonesian/Malay in the period which we are considering? Previous commentators have invoked a number of factors which, in their view, have had an important influence. There have been those who in seeking explanations have considered the educational environment. They have, for example, argued the importance of the initiatives and financial support of governments, both Commonwealth and State, in enabling the foundation, maintenance and renewal of programs for the study of languages other than English. Some have discussed the removal of languages from core curriculum in schools and from the matriculation requirements for entry into higher education. Others have pointed to the importance of gender, schooling system and the location of schools in city and country as factors influencing the choices of students to study one subject rather than another. Some too have sought their explanations in the nature of syllabus and examination styles. Others have emphasised the value of the study of languages for the cognitive development of students and the inculcation of humanist values. Always at issue have been the training and competence of teachers and the suitability of language study for those other than the academic elite.

The trends which we have traced in the previous chapter are the result of the priorities set and the decisions made by individuals as they participate in different capacities in the life of governments, the public service, schools and universities. The judgements and the decisions they have made are of course informed by their cultural values. The place of languages other than English in the school curriculum or in the course structures of degrees in universities, their value as an employable skill, and even the legitimacy of their currency in everyday life, have been contested issues in the period under discussion. Australian racist attitudes and the high value placed upon Australian Anglo-Irish culture help explain the absence until recently of any significant immigrant community from that part of the world we choose to categorise as 'Asian'. Our immigration policy in the not so distant past was not only arranged to keep Australia 'white' but also to ensure that immigrants who were not of Anglo-Irish descent were suitably assimilated. And that mostly meant not only that they became speakers of English in their own and their children's self interest but that they were also discouraged from using their mother tongues.

Our judgement as to the value of languages other than English for our national prosperity has also been influenced to a considerable degree by the languages we have required for the conduct of our business affairs with major trading partners. The long-time importance of the United Kingdom and the United States of America has recently waned and the economies of Japan and other nations to our north have become increasingly the markets for our commodity exports, our sources of investment and manufactured imports. As this shift in our economic relationships has taken place, so too has the assessment of the need to master Asian languages. At the present time the voices which proclaim the economic

value of learning languages have become multifarious. We are in the process of discovering that any language might well have this value!

In similar measure, the threat of communism shaped our perceptions of the global and regional factors affecting our national security. For many years we sought our salvation in a community of English-speaking nations as we depended first upon Great Britain and then the United States to guarantee our national security. Now that the Cold War has ended and we have had cause to rethink our defence policy, we are coming to a new accommodation with the nations to our north. New diplomatic and strategic requirements, like our economic interests, as they draw us into new relationships with other nations in our region of the world, emphasise the value to us of languages other than English.

3.2 The coming of the crisis in the teaching of languages other than English 1955-1970

3.2.1 Introduction

The period between 1945 and 1970 was a formative one for the study of languages other than English in Australian education in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Those who are influential in Australian life at the present time were for the most part educated in this period. The parents and grandparents of today's school and university students, leaders in Australian business, education and political life all formed the attitudes they now have towards the study of languages in this period. Whatever were the values and practices attached to the learning of languages other than English in the period prior to 1970, they can only be fully understood in the context of a number of dominant features of Australian society in the period.

In the mid 1960s, the study of languages other than English was perceived to be in the midst of a crisis as the numbers of students of languages in schools and universities declined and would continue to do so for another decade. It was at this time that Indonesian/Malay was introduced and the numbers of students of Indonesian/Malay began to increase in Australian education.

3.2.2 The economy

Between 1945 and 1970 Australians enjoyed an unprecedented level of economic prosperity. Full employment and increasing affluence were taken for granted by the generation of Australians who grew up in this period. Manufacturing industry was particularly prosperous and most manufactured goods in common use by the 1960s were Australian made. There was by the mid 1960s even a growing export trade in manufactured goods, so that the country's dependence on the export of wheat and wool was marginally reduced. Nevertheless wheat and wool continued to account for the bulk of Australian exports. During the 1960s the export of minerals grew. While iron-ore and coal were the most significant

earners of foreign exchange, deposits of oil, natural gas, uranium and mineral sands were also exploited for export. Between 1960 and 1970 Australia's overseas trade doubled, rising from about \$4 billion to \$8 billion.

Throughout the period Australia's trade was dominated by the United Kingdom and the United States of America. In 1949 approximately 60% of Australia's imports came from these two countries and 48% of our exports went to them. By 1960 these percentages were lower, but still 50% of imports and 33% of exports were exchanged with these two countries. At the end of the 1960s, 40% of imports came from and 20% of exports went to the United Kingdom and the United States of America. As with trade, so too with investment. Overseas capital investment came principally from the United Kingdom and the United States, attracted by growth in the Australian market, the import and replacement strategy of the government and protection from competitive imports in the form of high tariffs. It was only towards the end of the 1960s that trade with and investment from Asian countries, principally Japan, reached levels comparable with Australia's two main trading partners (Ward 1977:327-31, 366-70; Auchmuty 1971:12-3; Krause 1984:275-8, 300).

3.2.3 Australia's foreign relations

In the context of the Cold War, Australia was, throughout this period, dependent on the United Kingdom and increasingly the United States to guarantee national security. Australia's foreign policy has been a history of Australia's search for security in the Pacific. Australians have always been keenly aware of their peculiar status as a numerically small European nation in an Asian hemisphere. Fears about the future of Australia's racial composition, sparked by the large Chinese immigration to Australia during the gold rushes of the 1850s and 1860s, combined with the rise of nationalism and Social Darwinism to create a patriotic attachment to the British race through all levels of Australian society (Meaney 1989:398-408). The policy of restricting immigration, in particular from Asian countries, became the cornerstone of every major political party in Australia until the early 1960s, and Australia's foreign dealings were directed towards ensuring that the country would not be left alone to face an Asian power who might object to this White Australia policy. Before the Second World War, Australian governments had sought their security within a 'British Empire'. The inability of the British to stop the rapid advance of Japan through Asia at that time caused Australian governments henceforth to turn increasingly to the United States for protection. After the Second World War successive Australian governments attempted to get the United States to enter into a binding defence agreement, initially from a fear of a resurgent Japan, but more fundamentally out of a concern about the threat of communism in Asia.

With the collapse of European colonialism after the Second World War, the new nationalisms which grew in former colonies produced profound misgivings in the Australian population. When the Indonesians declared their independence from the Netherlands in August 1945 and waged diplomatic and military campaigns against the Dutch, Australia's sympathies were split between the two sides.

Conservatives, most newspapers and the vast majority of Australians were opposed to the independence movement, and it was only Labor and the trade unions who were in support. Table 3.1 documents this climate of opinion. The polls of August 1947 and February 1949 were taken after the two Dutch Military Actions in these years.

	Dec. 1945	Aug. 1947	Feb. 1949
Favouring Dutch Control	41%	23%	23%
Favouring Indonesian Control	29%	18%	19%
Favouring Joint Control	13%	15%	11%
No Opinion	17%	44%	42%

Table 3.1
*Results of Public Opinion Polls on the Question of Control of Indonesia, 1945-1949.*³⁶

Evatt, Australia's Minister for External Affairs in the Chifley Labor Government, while he feared for the level of communist influence in Indonesia, was swayed by pragmatic considerations. He judged that the Dutch would in the long run be unable to hold on to their former colony. Moreover, Australia's geography was unalterable, and Evatt believed it would be better to have a neighbour who was friendly rather than one which was antagonistic to Australia's interests. He therefore chose to go against the prevailing mood in Australia and supported the Indonesians in the struggle for independence.

In 1949 the conservative parties came to power at the Federal elections in December on a platform which emphasised their opposition to 'communist' influences on the Australian Labor Party. The communist rebellion in the Federation of Malaya, communist control of mainland China and Chinese communist assistance to the North Koreans in their war against the United Nations forces in South Korea, like the threat of the communist-led Viet Minh who sought to wrest Indo-China from French imperial control, all encouraged the conservative government in Australia to adopt the American view of the threat to the free world of a monolithic world communism. In this climate, Spender, then Casey and Hasluck, Australia's Ministers for External Affairs in the 1950s and 1960s, pursued a campaign to try and bring the United States into an alliance with Australia and New Zealand, as a basis for its defence against Asia (McLean 1990:64-82). At the same time Australia remained rigid in its immigration requirements in relation to Asians and constantly worried about the vagaries of their populous northern neighbours.

In the late 1950s parliamentary democracy collapsed in Indonesia to be replaced by Sukarno's Guided Democracy. Perceptions of the powerful influence of the Indonesian Communist Party in the internal affairs of Indonesia and an Indonesian foreign policy increasingly marked by an anti-Western rhetoric and directed to bringing Indonesia into closer association with the communist bloc profoundly encouraged Australians' fears of their nearest Asian neighbour.

While Australian foreign policy was driven by a concern that the country be protected from Asian communism by the American alliance, there was a more positive side to Australia's relationship with Asian countries. The Colombo Plan, initiated by Spender in 1950, was intended to provide financial, technical

36 Australian Public Opinion Polls, Nos. 314-326, December 1945-January 1946, Nos. 448-458, September 1947, Nos. 569-578, February-March 1949.

and professional assistance to underdeveloped countries such as Indonesia. The scheme received substantial support from the Menzies Government and resulted, amongst other things, in considerable numbers of students from Asian countries coming to Australia to receive a professional and technical education. The establishment of the Volunteer Graduates Scheme, later to become Australian Volunteers Abroad, was also an outcome of this willingness to contribute to the development of countries such as Indonesia. While the presence of Indonesian students in Australia and the presence of Australian volunteers in Indonesia undoubtedly created a group of younger Australians in the 1950s and 1960s who were favourably disposed towards Indonesia as 'a new country breaking free from colonial oppression and trying to establish a democratic political, social and economic way of life' (Brown and McKay 1991:1; Ward 1977:316-7), such Australians were in the 1950s and 1960s a small and atypical minority. The vast majority of Australians were motivated by other interests when they considered Asia and Indonesia in the context of Australia's place in the world.

When Sukarno mounted a campaign to resolve the question of the sovereignty of West Irian in Indonesia's favour, the Australian Government with the overwhelming support of Australian public opinion opposed Indonesia. When asked in 1950 who should control West New Guinea, 42% of Australians felt that it should be controlled by Australia, 23% favoured Dutch control and only 6% supported Indonesian control (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 March 1950). Australians were particularly worried that if Indonesians gained control of West New Guinea they would take over control of Australian New Guinea and Australia would be unprotected from the 'southward thrust of Chinese communist expansion'.³⁷ The United States and the United Kingdom, although they favoured continued Dutch control of West New Guinea, were alarmed at the outspokenness of Australia's public policy on this issue. In the end United States fears of pushing Sukarno further towards the communist camp, thereby creating another Vietnam, resolved the issue and West New Guinea was handed over to Indonesian administration in 1962, subject to the results of a plebiscite to determine whether the inhabitants wished to remain part of Indonesia to be held by 1969.

Almost immediately after the resolution of the dispute over West New Guinea, Indonesia, fearing encirclement by European puppet states (Legge 1972:362-5), embarked on a campaign against the creation of Malaysia. For Australians the new campaign confirmed their fears of Indonesian expansionism. When Malaysia was given a non-permanent seat in the Security Council of the United Nations in January 1965, and the Indonesians left the United Nations and strengthened their ties with the North Koreans, North Vietnamese and Chinese, the Australian Government committed troops to the defence of Malaysia's Borneo territories, with the qualified support of the United States under the ANZUS treaty.

Following the coup in September 1965, the end of 'Confrontation' and Sukarno's removal from power, Australia's diplomatic relations with Indonesia improved

³⁷ Aide memoire, Minister for External Affairs, Percy Spender, to Dutch Ambassador (Canberra), P. E. Teppema, 21 April 1950, AA, A1838/233 3036/6/1 Part 1; *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 August 1950; Saving, Spender to Australian Ambassador (Hague), Keith Officer, 20 December 1950, AA, A1838/1 45/4/5/1 Part 1; and record of conversation, Watt and the Netherlands Ambassador (Canberra), Teixeira, 8 April 1952, AA, A1838/238 3036/6/1 Part 3B.

dramatically. The repression of the Indonesian Communist Party and the end to Sukarno's anti-Western rhetoric diminished Australian fears of Indonesia as the site of communist activity and threat. Australians began to think of Indonesia less and less, as the spectre of another communist threat, this time in Indo-China, loomed larger in the daily news.

3.2.4 Australian attitudes towards immigration

In the period between 1945 and 1970, the world inhabited by Australians was an English-speaking world. Australians were encouraged in their acceptance of the high pragmatic value of English and the irrelevance of other languages not only by unprecedented levels of economic prosperity, built in the main upon trade with and investment from the United Kingdom and the United States, but also in equal measure, by our dependency on these two world powers to guarantee our national security in the waging of the Cold War, which confirmed Australians in their evaluation of English as the language of international affairs. Moreover, the cultural dominance of Anglo-Irish Australians, whose British patriotism was the corner stone of their Australian nationalism, confident in their superiority as participants in a world wide community of English-speaking nations, insisted on an immigration policy which kept Australia both white and English speaking. It was in the best interests of all immigrants who were not of Anglo-Irish descent to be assimilated, and assimilation meant, amongst other things, a public mastery of English and the suppression of the use of other languages.

Following the Second World War, Australian governments encouraged migration from the United Kingdom and then from other European countries such as the Netherlands, Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia. By 1970 more than 2.5 million immigrants from these countries had settled in Australia. Still the White Australia policy remained in place to refuse entry to migrants from Asian countries until the 1970s. By this time Australian opinion had begun to change, as public opinion polls conducted by the Immigration Reform Group suggested, and the Federal Government had begun to remove some of the more notorious aspects of this policy. Still, if fewer politicians were prepared publicly to defend the tenets of restricted immigration, the Australian public were certainly not eager to dispense with it. In 1966, 61.7% of Australians believed that no more than 1,000 Asians should be allowed into Australia each year, and even in 1970 half the population refused to accept more than 3,000 Asian immigrants each year.³⁸ Australians, like people in other cultures, harboured prejudices against foreigners.

If there is some evidence which suggests that governments and private enterprise at the time had accepted that there was some pragmatic communicative value to be attached to the languages of immigrant communities, official policy demanded that all immigrants be assimilated. Immigrants who persisted in speaking their first language in public were considered unassimilated and therefore un-Australian. School teachers advised parents to avoid harming their children by not speaking English in the home. Justice Dovey, who chaired

³⁸ Morgan Gallup Poll No. 186, 11 November 1966; Morgan Gallup Poll No. 214, October 1970

an inquiry into the progress and assimilation of migrant children in Australia in 1960, considered the existence of ethnic groups and the use of ethnic languages undesirable as they hindered children's assimilation into school communities. Throughout the period, interpreting and translating services were few, municipal libraries stocked few books in languages of migrant communities, and there were few programs on radio and none at all on television in languages other than English (Clyne 1991:15-8).

3.2.5 The educational environment

In the 1950s and 1960s the situation of the learning of 'foreign' languages was dominated by French, German and Latin. French, a language of relatively few immigrants and little used in Australia's international dealings, had almost a monopoly amongst these three languages in Australian schools and was the language most studied in universities. The numbers of students learning languages other than French, German and Latin at the time were very small, as we have seen. There was little opportunity to study the languages of Australia's immigrant communities. Study of these languages in schools was inhibited by a system of school zoning, in-built discriminatory procedures in marking students from native-speaking backgrounds in some matriculation examinations, and by many languages simply not being available for examination at this level at the time because examinations were dependent on there being a university department both competent and willing to take responsibility for them (Clyne: 1991:17).

3.2.6 The Wykes Reports

It is little wonder that Australian school students at the time perceived that the learning of languages other than English had little relevance for them. In 1966 and 1968 Wykes wrote two important studies of the situation of the study of languages in Australian schools and universities. The Humanities Research Council, on behalf of whom she wrote her study of universities, was of the view that there was in general 'apathy about the need of "language study" ' in the Australian community, an apathy which extended to schools and even to many faculties in universities (Wykes 1966:iii). Wykes, in her report, drew attention to the influence of 'the cultural climate of city and state' in choices students made whether or not to study languages. She reported the view of university teachers in Western Australia that the community there was apathetic, even hostile, to foreign languages and noted that amongst boys in schools there was a widespread view that foreign languages were useless. They were not entirely wrong in this view, for as Wykes observed elsewhere in the report, there were 'comparatively few vocations open to linguists apart from teaching' (Wykes 1966:10-11). In her report on the situation of language teaching in schools, Wykes reported on a survey of student attitudes concerning the 'utility' of the study of French. Students were asked about the educational relevance of French for the study of other subjects at school and future study at university, its vocational value for future careers and for foreign travel. On the basis of responses to the survey,

Wykes was able to claim that '... to many students French appears a useless subject irrelevant to their way of life' (Wykes and King 1968:148).

Wykes observed at this time that there was a substantially greater proportion of girls than boys studying foreign languages in schools. Wykes suggested a number of reasons for this. They included the old tradition of a girl's education, school tradition and policy, vocational opportunities, the development of sex roles, and the availability of staff. The combination of these factors had led to something of a vicious circle:

More girls take modern languages at university, become teachers of modern languages, and the impression of the 'feminine' subject grows. A similar concept of the 'masculine' subjects of the physical sciences is probably created in a similar fashion. In a society where the male plays the dominant role, it is not good for a subject to acquire a 'feminine reputation'(!) (Wykes and King 1968:72-3).

Wykes also noted that there were differences between the proportions of students in different types of schools learning foreign languages. There was also in the early 1960s a very obvious inequality of opportunity in all States except Victoria and Queensland between students in cities and those in the country to study foreign languages. Not only did a significantly smaller proportion of students in the country study languages than in the city, but the persistence rate of those in country schools continuing the study of foreign languages was uniformly across all States much lower than for their city counterparts (Wykes and King 1968:38-73).

At the time when Wykes wrote her two reports, the teaching of languages in Australian education was perceived to be in a state of crisis because of a spectacular decline in the numbers of students taking them in senior high schools and in higher education. The gradual removal since 1939 of languages other than English from matriculation and faculty requirements for entry to universities meant that students in schools who perceived no relevance of the learning of languages other than English were freer to select other subjects which they considered more important and less demanding. A situation thus existed in which only a minority of senior students in academic schools studied languages and so entered universities adequately trained and with any predisposition to continue their language studies at university level (Wykes 1966: 6-10; Wykes and King 1968:12-71). In faculties of arts, the place of primary location of most language departments in universities, she discovered that approximately 30% of all students in 1964 studied at least one language. She predicted, quite accurately as it turned out, that this was a proportion which would drop in the near future to between 20%-25% in the absence of any university or faculty requirement for languages to enter universities and in a situation in which, in faculties of arts, students would have an increasing freedom to choose other subjects as new departments were established (Wykes 1966:13). It is likely that the removal of foreign languages from the entry requirements for higher education was symptomatic of the apathy and hostility towards their study noted by Wykes in her reports. Even where such requirements continued to exist, languages were not required for any intrinsic value which they might have had in everyday life but rather because languages, like mathematics, were

considered to be a 'good predictors of the ability of the candidate to undertake a university course' (Wykes 1966:7).

In this cultural environment, languages other than English were in the main a thing of education, taught to an academic elite and valued for their contribution to the cognitive and civilising development of students. A minority of (female) students in schools aspired to go on to university to study languages that they might return to schools to teach later generations of school students, so that they too might go to universities to acquire language skills in order to become teachers of languages in schools. Beyond this educational merry-go-round, the command of foreign languages was considered to be only the 'legitimate interest of students of the arts, of literati (or at least dilettantes)' (Ingram 1992b:9). Languages other than English were not taught because a mastery of them might have been of pragmatic value in a multicultural Australia or in our dealings with other countries.

Programs of foreign language study at the time were academic in character. Almost without exception the study of foreign languages was confined to what Wykes described as academic schools and the academic stream in comprehensive schools. They were designed for study by an intellectual elite intending to go on to study at university. Speaking of French, Wykes observed that school students found the study of this language difficult because it was a grammar-based 'verbal, abstract study' and because it demanded too much in the time which was available in the classroom. French syllabuses at the time were broadly based and expected students not only to master the language itself but also required that students obtain a knowledge of French culture. Wykes noted that between 1945 and the mid 1960s there had been an intensified emphasis on the study of French culture and that the introduction of the audio-lingual method in the 1960s had placed an increased demand on improving students' speaking and listening skills. It seemed, from her survey of students in Victorian schools, that the heavy workload in the classroom was in practice ameliorated by simply not teaching much about French civilisation at all (Wykes and King 1968:146-9).

Wykes' statistical survey of enrolments in language courses in universities in 1964 and her surveys of the opinion of deans and heads of departments responsible for programs of study in university faculties concerning the place of languages revealed an important diversity of interest and opinion. Academic specialisation had isolated the study of languages. This isolation was not one which had been created just by the degree programs of different faculties but one which was also evident within faculties of arts where the majority of language departments were primarily located.

In departments other than language departments in faculties of arts, Wykes found only 'tempered enthusiasm' for teaching honours students languages other than English and only 'lukewarm support' for language courses for postgraduate students. It seemed that there was an assumption on the part of some members of staff that students would have an adequate knowledge of the (European) languages which they required, and, while there was a majority opinion that it was highly desirable that honours and postgraduate students should have a knowledge of languages, there existed no requirement that they in fact did so. The lukewarm support which existed for the study of languages in faculties of arts outside language departments was no doubt informed, at least in part, by the

opposition expressed by a vocal, and one suspects influential, minority of those surveyed to the idea of formalised interdepartmental co-operation. It was argued that such co-operation was difficult to achieve in practice and, importantly, interfered with the liberty of choice of students (Wykes 1966:45). It also appears to have been motivated by the demand of disciplinary specialisation in the humanities and social sciences which made of departments in faculties of arts autonomous spheres of intellectual enterprise. Such an attitude ran counter to a view of the degree of Bachelor of Arts as a generalist program of education which was intended to broaden a student's interest not to specialise it. Departments of language, it is not surprising to discover, also shared this view. They considered their primary 'practical' task to be the training of academics and specialist research workers. Teaching languages to honours and postgraduate students in other departments and even the training of school teachers was regarded as peripheral to this central purpose (Wykes 1966:39, 45).

The programs of study in language departments, being intended to train academics and research workers, were designed to provide students with reading, writing, speaking and listening skills in the language as well as a broad awareness of the cultural values and outlook of the people whose language was the object of study. The study of culture at the time was understood to include not just literature (in which there was a predominant interest), but art, history, music, philosophy, architecture, politics and society. The emphasis on the non-literary aspects of culture was, as Wykes pointed out, unexceptional at the time, having begun after the First World War and become more widespread since the Second (Wykes 1966:39).

Wykes also drew attention to the small numbers of students who took up the study of languages in universities which were predominantly technological or agricultural in character (Wykes 1966:10). She also recorded low numbers of students studying languages in faculties other than faculties of arts within universities. She noted a difference in numbers and attitudes toward teaching languages between those faculties which she categorised as 'science-based', ie, faculties of science, agriculture, dental science, engineering and medicine, and other faculties such as those of commerce, economics, accountancy and law. In science-based faculties there were in 1964 a total of 580 students taking languages, while in other faculties there were only 139 such students. Students of languages in science-based faculties were in the main catered for in courses specially designed for their students. Here she noted the 'strong demand' for a command of foreign languages, principally French, German and Russian, for practical and technical reasons. Students needed to be able to read, translate and to communicate with colleagues in these languages. In other faculties, while the opportunity was in fact often available to students to study languages, there was no desire on the part of deans and departmental heads for students at any level to possess a command of a language other than English (Wykes 1966:14-20).

The situation of the teaching and learning of languages other than English in this period was one in which the study of languages was remote from the world of everyday life in an increasingly multicultural Australian community. The languages which dominated the curriculum had little relevance to Australia's economic and strategic dependency on the United Kingdom and the United States. Isolated from the needs of everyday life, the purpose of the study of

languages was largely determined by the contribution they made to the cognitive development of (female) students. Programs of language study were thus highly academic in character. Assumed to be for an academic elite, school syllabuses which demanded high levels of performance and heavy work loads were broadly based in the study of language and culture in imitation of the programs in universities which were designed to produce academic research workers in the field of literary and cultural studies. Language studies in universities had become ghettoized, separated not only from the training of students in professional faculties but also from the study of other humanities subjects and the social sciences.

If this was the situation of the study of languages in Australian education, it was not one which Crawford, the then chairman of the Australian Humanities Research Council, was prepared to accept. Both Crawford and the Council's Committee on Foreign Languages were alarmed at the situation in which language study found itself. It was not a situation which would, in their view, equip Australia well for the future. When calling for an inquiry to examine Australia's requirements for foreign languages, he identified those areas of national life where he believed the need existed. Crawford understood well that these needs existed beyond the educational program of schools and universities. The value of languages were important in Australian business life and in the conduct of the affairs of state as well as to 'the less tangible requirement of a rich Australian culture'. In part this last comment appears to have been an oblique reference to the need to provide for the maintenance of the languages of migrant communities in Australia, identified elsewhere in Wykes' report and its recommendations (Wykes 1966:iii). Neither the Council nor Wykes elaborated upon the ways in which knowledge of languages other than English nor cultural understanding would be of use to Australian business abroad or would work to create a multicultural Australian community. They did, however, have a number of recommendations which they believed would encourage the wider teaching and learning of languages in Australian education.

3.2.7 Introduction of Indonesian/Malay into schools and universities

Prominent amongst the recommendations to encourage the learning of languages in schools and universities which were announced in Wykes' two reports was the need to teach a greater variety of languages. The reports emphasised the need to provide not only for a greater variety of European languages, including those of the major groups of migrant communities in Australia. It was particularly important that Asian languages become much more widely available. Asian languages, she and the Council believed, 'gave access to cultures valuable in their own right' and were 'further of increasing importance for the international relations of this country' (Wykes 1966:ii). In the case of schools, Wykes regarded the dominance of French as something to be deplored, not because it was not a valuable language in itself, but because she believed that a wider range of both European and Asian languages ought to be taught.

As we have seen, provision had been made for a language-based study of Indonesia and Malaysia in the mid 1950s at the Australian National University

and the Universities of Melbourne and Sydney. By the mid 1960s similar provision had also been made at Monash. A brief examination of the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Department of Indonesian and Malayan Studies at the University of Sydney is revealing of the attitudes of the time.

The initiative to establish the study of Indonesian and Malaysian at the University of Sydney came not from the scholarly community nor even from public demand. The impulse came from the Commonwealth Government, which announced its interest in the teaching of Indonesian and Malayan Studies in a letter from William J. Weeden, Director of the Commonwealth Office of Education, to the Vice-Chancellor in June 1955. In his letter Weeden indicated that the government was 'prepared to meet the necessary costs involved'. The government 'recognised that the form which courses ... would take is a matter for the university to decide' and that while 'the language of Indonesia might be the major study, possibly provision would be made for teaching something of the culture of region'. There was some urgency in the proposal. The Commonwealth Government hoped that teaching might commence in 1956, giving the University only half a year to recruit academics, plan a course and advertise for undergraduate places. What was not made clear in correspondence with the University was that the government's interest in seeing the study of Indonesia and Malaysia established had originated not in the Commonwealth Office of Education but in the Departments of External Affairs, Defence and in the office of the Prime Minister, who wanted 'Indonesian and Malay and other Far Eastern languages ... [taught] to undergraduates, the Services and persons needing limited courses'.³⁹ When the government decided to end full funding of the Department of Indonesian and Malayan Studies at Sydney late in 1965, it was because the 'original purpose for these grants was to provide for particular and clearly defined Commonwealth needs' and these needs had ended.⁴⁰ While these needs were not made explicit, it is worth noting that these were considered 'Commonwealth' and not 'scholarly'.

The response in the University to the government's proposal was, to say the least, mixed. The Senate of the University of Sydney wholeheartedly endorsed the creation of the new department. A number of academics in the Faculty of Arts, however, opposed it on the grounds that 'the literary and cultural context of the languages ... [was] not enough to justify the teaching [of Indonesian and Malayan Studies] in the traditional mode of language teaching in the Faculty'.⁴¹ The sentiment was especially prevalent among teachers of European languages, and one of their number, Professor Henning of the Department of French, moved an unsuccessful motion which would have prevented the introduction of Indonesian and Malayan Studies in the Faculty of Arts.⁴² In the end, however, the recommendation that a department be created passed through the Professorial Board, Faculty of Arts and Senate and the department came into existence in 1956. How typical the situation at the University of Sydney was of

³⁹ Letter, William J. Weeden, Director of Commonwealth Office of Education, to Sir Stephen Roberts, Vice-Chancellor, University of Sydney, 24 June 1955, University of Sydney Archives, *University of Sydney Senate Minutes*, G1/1/31; Letter, Confidential, Ronald Mendelsohn, Prime Minister's Department, to Weeden, 26 January 1955, Australian Archives, A1361/1 49/5/4 Part 1.

⁴⁰ Letter, Senator John Gorton to Sir Stephen Roberts, 21 September 1965, University of Sydney Archives, G3/13, 'Indonesian and Malayan Studies: Establishment and Finance', File No. 17294.

⁴¹ University of Sydney Archives, *Minutes of the Professorial Board*, G2/1/13, 21 November 1955.

⁴² University of Sydney Archives, *Minutes of the Faculty of Arts*, G3/1/5, 19 November 1955.

other institutions when the subject was introduced must await further investigation.

The initiative to establish the study of Indonesia came from the Commonwealth Government, which well understood the diplomatic and strategic imperatives attached to Australia's relationship with a newly independent Indonesia, but no doubt the same enlightened self interest which informed the government's support of the Colombo Plan and Australian Volunteers Abroad also encouraged it in its desire to establish the study of Indonesia in Australian universities. It is clear, too, from the correspondence with the University of Sydney that the government's interest was in Indonesia and not the Confederation of Malaya which was part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, English-speaking amongst the educated elite and firmly under British control, since Britain had by this time contained the communist rebellion. The initiative had certainly not come in response to public demand or to any academic request to see these studies become an integral part of Australian education. Indeed it would seem that the government's initiative succeeded in the face of strong opposition from conservative elements in the academic community who, confident of the superior value of European cultural studies but perhaps also concerned at the loss of students to the study of a new language, dismissed the value of the study of Indonesian languages and cultures.

By the mid 1960s, it would seem, such opposition had lessened, and in universities there does not appear to have been much opposition to the introduction of new languages such as Indonesian/Malay. Indeed Wykes found much evidence of forward planning in faculties of arts. By this time, however, there was much more public interest in the study of Asian languages in particular, an interest which culminated in the establishment of an Advisory Committee on the Teaching of Asian Languages and Cultures by the Commonwealth Government in March 1969, under the chairmanship of Professor Auchmuty. Opposition had, however, not altogether disappeared. Within universities where the subject was taught, the enthusiasm of those who taught the subject and who were knowledgeable about and sympathetic towards Indonesia and Malaysia had resulted in growing enrolments of students in the subject. The role of Indonesian nationals, who have taught in universities since this time, was an important element in this context. Confronted by these developments, opposition took a more subtle form. Clear differences of opinion were expressed about the relative values to be attached to different languages. Major languages, understood to be those of the great nations, 'the leaders of humanity', would be taught because of their intrinsic value. Other languages, including Indonesian/Malay, were to be made available for 'practical reasons', because they were of political, geographical or technical value. These languages were to be properly situated in area studies programs because of their relevance to departments of anthropology, history or political science (Wykes 1966:41). In the case of schools, where there was growing pressure to introduce the study of Asian languages, sharp differences of opinion concerning the suitability of teaching Asian languages to Australian school students existed. Despite this difference of opinion, Wykes advocated that Chinese, Indonesian/Malay and Japanese should be taught, but only in selected schools and only 'to the linguistically gifted in senior classes', a recommendation that not only says much about the cultural conservatism of Australian schools but is also evidence of the elitism which was attached to the teaching of languages at the time.

The government's interest in Australia's need to understand the new and dangerous world of Asia, as Legge points out (Legge 1990:97-9), arose from considerations of government policy, and these considerations had their influence on the general direction of the study of Indonesia and Malaysia in Australian universities at the time. By the mid 1960s the interest in the study of Indonesia and Malaysia was in general not that of the European Orientalist tradition which explored the classical civilisations of Asian countries through language, literature and philosophy. Rather it was based on the model of postwar American studies of newly emerging nations. In general the study of Indonesia and Malaysia focused on the contemporary scene and its immediate antecedents and was in the main concerned with issues of international relations, economic development and the history and character of political life. Language studies were combined with social sciences such as anthropology, economics, political science and sociology, thus breaking the nexus between the study of language and literature and the brand of cultural studies which prevailed in departments of modern European languages. As Legge points out, the departments responsible for teaching Indonesian/Malay in Canberra, Melbourne and Sydney all initially developed different approaches to the study of Indonesian/Malay, combining it with other aspects of the history, cultures and societies of these two countries. The department in Canberra emphasised modern literature and Islam, Melbourne a study of contemporary societies based upon the social sciences, and Sydney, although initially emphasising the classical civilisation of the region, had by the mid 1960s also developed a strong interest in modern literature, politics and sociology. In the department at Monash, established in 1964, there was emphasis on the study of Modern Indonesian and Classical Malay literature but in a context in which there was a strong emphasis on the study of Asia in the traditional disciplines at undergraduate level accompanied by an interdisciplinary approach to Southeast Asian studies at the graduate level.

3.2.8 Teaching methodology and coursebooks

The teaching of Indonesian/Malay language until the late 1960s was within the grammar-translation tradition of language teaching. The first Indonesian textbook published in Australia appears to have been T. S. Lie's *Introducing Indonesian*, published in 1965. This marked the start of a highly productive decade, in which several major textbooks were produced. There was from the first a methodological tension, in that Lie's coursebooks adhered closely to a traditional grammar-translation format, but that Purwanto Danusugondo's *Bahasa Indonesia for Beginners* of 1966 was highly critical of translation, and proposed instead a method based on what he described as 'productive patterns'.

Elsewhere in foreign language teaching, the grammar-translation method was already being supplanted by the audio-lingual method, a shift which had occurred earlier in the United States. Thus, the first Indonesian grammar-translation texts in Australia appeared in the last days of this methodology. By 1968, the audio-lingual method was to become dominant in teaching Indonesian/Malay. There was, however, a brief and productive burst of grammar-translation courses and textbooks between 1965 and 1968, when six titles

were published, all — apart from Purwanto Danusugondo's — adhering to a grammar-translation approach.

Each of these publications was in some way associated with teaching staff at the Universities of Melbourne and Sydney. From Melbourne came J. P. Sarumpaet's *The Structure of Bahasa Indonesia* and the collaborative work, Sarumpaet and Mackie's *Introduction to Bahasa Indonesia*, both published in 1966. From Sydney came the T.S. Lie and Purwanto Danusugondo texts mentioned above. Two further ventures were associated with H.W. Emanuels of the University of Sydney. One was a course compiled for the Radio University section of the University of New South Wales by Emanuels, published as *Bahasa Indonesia Sehari-hari* in 1966. The other was the first Australian school text, *Indonesian for Schools*, written by Vern Turner, a high school teacher and graduate of the University of Sydney who had been recommended by Emanuels to the publishers, Science Press. Book One of this course appeared in 1967 and Book Two in 1968.

The methodological core providing the link between these texts was the grammar-translation method, the traditional method of teaching Latin and Greek in Europe, which had come to be used in teaching 'modern' languages such as French, German and English in the nineteenth century. The core components of a typical grammar-translation lesson were the presentation of a grammatical rule, a study of lists of vocabulary, and a translation exercise. Reading rather than speaking was emphasised.

Thus, the ten lessons in Parts 1 and 2 of Lie's *Introducing Indonesian* involved:

- a. a short reading;
- b. vocabulary lists, with some explanation;
- c. a longer grammar section, covering up to nine grammatical points;
- d. a short section containing exercises, mostly based on the translation of individual sentences.

Sarumpaet's *The Structure of Bahasa Indonesia* was aimed at university students, using sophisticated technical descriptions of the language. The first two chapters are entitled 'the equational sentence' and 'the attributive sentence'. The first paragraphs of its preface reads:

The purpose of this work is to help the student to understand and assimilate the syntax of modern standard Bahasa Indonesia, as the language is used today in schools and universities and by those who speak and write with care.

A sentence construction is first introduced in a table or by means of examples, followed by the translation of the sentences. Negative forms are sometimes introduced when it is considered necessary. The sentences in the tables should be thoroughly assimilated before the actual exercises which follow are tackled (p. x).

Exercises consisted of grammatical transformations of lists of individual sentences.

Sarumpaet's preface urged beginners to use this work in conjunction with a beginners text, such as *Introduction to Bahasa Indonesia* by Sarumpaet and Mackie. This latter, written at speed to fill the absence of any useful texts, followed the format of: vocabulary items, grammar points, a dozen or more examples, and exercises, which consisted of translation of usually ten to 15 phrases and sentences. Sentences often had the 'made-up' feel typical of grammar-translation texts, eg,

That young man drives very fast.
You are not allowed to climb that high mountain.
It is reported that Harsono has left Djakarta.

Additional translation exercises at the back of the book included two passages of Indonesian prose and a short story from a 1951 magazine.

Emmanuels' course for the Radio University consisted of lectures, divided into:

- a. grammatical explanation
- b. drill exercises [apparently translation]
- c. additional grammatical explanations.

In half of the lectures, according to the evidence of Part 2, apparently the only surviving part of the course, a comprehension was substituted for 'a' and comprehension questions for 'b'. Only three of these were conversations. The course ended on an historical and literary note, with three comprehension passages on the history of the Indonesian language and Indonesian literature. In 1993, just over a quarter of a century later, it is hard to imagine quite how this 'radio university' worked, but it seems that students followed a written script as they listened to the broadcast.

Vern Turner's school coursebook of 1967 and 1968 added interest to the grammar format with line drawings scattered through the text, every two or three pages. The preface summed up the philosophy:

From this book students will learn grammatical forms which will enable them to attain fluency in speaking and writing Bahasa Indonesia.

The basic pattern of lessons was: grammar, vocabulary list, and translation exercises. The sections for translation were massive, with sometimes more than 70 sentences to be translated. Past students of this text speak of the sense of achievement in finally coming to the end of the exercises. The sentences created for translation seem extremely quaint, eg:

Take that dead cat as far as possible away from the house.

The quaintness is enhanced when sets of sentences are read:

1. It was not her desire to get married but her parents'.
2. Kartini's sweetheart is five years older than she is.
3. The most capable member should become the chairman of the school committee.
4. That person is the sixth person to ask me for money.
5. It is her wish to have eight children when she marries.
6. Why is your sweetheart angry at you?
7. I am certain Harsono will be elected tonight.
8. The second house on the left of the church is my house.

These examples are not quoted to poke fun at the texts of the 1960s, but to illustrate how much methods and materials have changed since then. These early authors were pioneers, who rightly saw themselves trying to fill a void in teaching materials, pulling together whatever they had in the way of tried classroom materials, partly in a mood of 'something is better than nothing'. Nor did they try to prescribe what should happen in the classroom. The texts are particularly silent on the teacher's role and how teachers should use the texts in class. This was in part because the teacher's role was well understood: to lead the students through the written text. But it was also in part a recognition of the eclectic nature of actual classroom language teaching, and a recognition or a hope that teachers would use these materials in a variety of ways. Nonetheless, however eclectic the use in the classroom, these texts display a very marked similarity to each other, their construction on classic grammar-translation lines.

3.2.9 Wykes — further recommendations

In her report on the teaching of languages in Australian universities, Wykes made further recommendations to encourage the study of languages. She argued, for example, that a wider range of languages should be made available. Furthermore, in a situation in which limited numbers of students had the opportunity at school to study only a limited number of languages, she discovered little opposition of consequence to the introduction of elementary language courses given full credit. She argued, however, that there was a place for them also in the case of established languages, to provide for students who had not traditionally studied languages (Wykes 1966:43-4, 48). Recognising that the needs of postgraduate students in faculties of arts in non-language departments and those of students in science-based faculties were not served adequately by existing undergraduate language courses, she argued the case for special courses to provide for them. The Committee on Foreign Languages of the Humanities Research Council went further and recommended special courses to provide for the professional needs of officers in the public and social services and those engaged in commerce and industry, being divided in opinion only about how universities should provide such courses (Wykes 1966:iv, 48). There were strong reasons to encourage graduates of language departments to continue their study at the postgraduate level and where possible to do so overseas where they will 'quickly experience the intellectual impact of living in a country which they

have studied at a distance and where their knowledge will expand immediately from the foundations already laid' (Wykes 1966:iv, 48).

There was finally the problematic issue of the resources to make all this possible. Wykes, when addressing this matter, recognised all that made discussion of the rationalisation of resources a delicate issue between universities in a situation in which universities were insistent on their autonomy. Despite the difficulties, she insisted that it was imperative that at least some preliminary discussion take place concerning the rational pooling and distribution of resources, firstly within a State and then within Australia (Wykes 1966:42).

Wykes' study of language teaching in schools also contained a number of suggestions to improve the teaching of languages and to encourage enrolments. In the absence of any likely reintroduction of language requirements for entry to universities, she advocated a number of other measures to encourage the study of foreign languages in schools. Aware that the study of languages was academic and considered to be difficult, she emphasised the need to review current syllabuses to ensure that they made only a realistic demand on the time which students and teachers had available. It was particularly important to clarify the purpose of the teaching of culture and to cater for what was the major point of student interest in these subjects, the learning of a language. In this respect she believed that the audio-lingual approach should be more widely used as this would give students the feeling that they could indeed put foreign languages to use. She thought it important to introduce students earlier to the study of foreign languages and also stressed the need for more time in the classroom, for classes of smaller size, for careful and constant correction of written work and for cumulative revision. She thought that boys might be more attracted to the subject if text books were chosen which related the study of foreign languages to boys' interest in science. Certainly an effort should be made to convince principals and administrators that money should be spent to provide adequate technical aids for teaching languages in the same way as such provision was made for science, woodwork and domestic science. Good teachers, better trained in linguistics and with overseas experience, were necessary and ought to be encouraged to teach not just senior classes but those at lower levels as well. To address the general apathy prevalent in the community towards the study of languages, she believed that much greater effort had to be made to persuade parents, students and the community at large of the usefulness of foreign language study and, in particular, to persuade them of the need Australia had of them (Wykes 1968:146-51).

3.2.10 The Auchmuty Report

Just one year after the Wykes report on the teaching of languages in Australian schools was published in 1968, the Commonwealth Government, with the agreement of State ministers for education, established an Advisory Committee under the chairmanship of Professor Auchmuty on the Teaching of Asian Languages and Cultures. The report published by this committee in 1970 considered specifically the educational implications of the changing and

intensifying relationships between Australia and Asian nations (Auchmuty 1971:21).

By the late 1960s, there was clear evidence of an increased public awareness of the importance of the Asian region to Australia's economic, diplomatic and strategic interests, and the report recorded a widespread interest in the availability of the study of Asian languages and cultures in Australian education (Auchmuty 1971:18-20). Some business organisations, particularly banks, and some government departments were also supportive, considering that a knowledge of Asian languages and cultures was important for personnel engaged in that area. However, at this time as later, business people involved in trade in Asia considered that they would have 'no immediate requirement for staff fluent in a particular Asian language'. It was their view that English was 'the official business language of Asia'. This was a view which the Committee had difficulty in accepting. Although the Committee did not elaborate on the manner in which a command of Asian languages would foster Australian interests and business abroad, they did note that they believed this view of business people was unrealistic 'in view of the actions being taken by some Asian countries to foster national languages' (Auchmuty 1971:17-8).

The Auchmuty Report sought its rationale for the wider teaching of Asian languages and cultures in Australian education in what it described as 'a re-orientation of Australia's relations with Asian countries and a reappraisal of Australia's traditional attitudes towards Asia' (Auchmuty 1971:11). There was greater public awareness of Australia's engagement with Asian countries politically, economically, strategically and culturally and of the potential influence on Australian patterns of life from Asian countries because of the presence of students from Asian countries in educational institutions, immigration, as well as through contact in the media, the arts, community organisations and business co-operation associations. The Committee's report expressed views and made recommendations very much in line with those made by Wykes' earlier reports. They were well aware of the decline in student numbers in language courses in Australian education and were cautious in their expectations of any future increase in enrolments in courses in Asian languages, especially in Indonesian/Malay, Japanese and Chinese, the three languages which they considered to be especially important in Australia's 'rapidly growing commercial, industrial and political relations' with the Asian region. They did, however, stress that they considered that these languages were not sufficiently widely available at both secondary and tertiary levels in Australia and that the numbers of students studying these languages would increase to many times the level of current enrolments.

The Committee was not impressed by arguments that Asian languages were more difficult to learn than European languages. Despite the difficulties which were attached to learning tonal languages and those with unfamiliar writing systems, they saw no reason why school students of average ability should not attempt to study Asian languages if modern teaching methods were used. Asian languages, therefore, should enjoy 'parity of esteem' with European languages and should be made available at the same time as European languages. It was important that courses be designed to ensure that students had the experience of these languages in their spoken as well as their written form and that students were not taught

them in isolation from an understanding of the cultures of the countries where they were spoken (Auchmuty 1971:90-2).

At the tertiary level, the Committee indicated its concern at the variation between universities in the courses they offered and was strongly of the view that Australia should become a major centre for Asian studies at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. They were more pleased with the situation in colleges of advanced education which were particularly aware of the importance to be attached to the study of Asian languages and cultures in the context of their practical and vocational studies (Auchmuty 1971:92-3). There was, however, one major difficulty associated with the expansion of Asian studies at the tertiary level of education. That was the funding and staffing of courses for relatively small numbers of students. In this connection they stressed the need for the co-ordination of the development of Asian language studies between universities and between universities and schools within a particular State (Auchmuty 1971:93).

Particular mention was made of the need for the tertiary sector to provide intensive courses to meet the practical needs of business and professional personnel, government officials, tourists and others travelling to Asia and having dealings with the nationals of Asian countries (Auchmuty 1971:93). The Committee was also concerned by the fact that the current availability of teachers of Asian languages would not be adequate to support any substantial expansion in the teaching of these languages. They emphasised the urgent need of method courses relating to specific Asian languages and the need to train teachers in the use of audio-visual and electronic teaching methods and aids. Aware that in-country experience would greatly benefit the effectiveness of language teaching, particularly in schools, the Committee urged that consideration be given to a system of scholarships and programs of teacher exchange to make such travel possible. Apart from the supply of teachers, Auchmuty's Committee believed that the 'largest single deficiency' in teaching Asian languages at all levels was the inadequacy of existing teaching materials. This was particularly the case in schools. In the case of universities and colleges of advanced education, they believed the need was as great but that teachers in these institutions were better placed to remedy the deficiency of textbooks, tapes and other teaching aids than were school teachers. They noted in particular that the 'small market for such materials ... deters commercial publishers, and is likely to do so for some time in the future'. There was, therefore, the need, especially in the case of schools, for school authorities to sponsor the development of suitable materials for Indonesian/Malay, Japanese and Chinese (Auchmuty 1971:94-7).

3.3 Conclusions

The initiative to establish the study of Indonesian and Malaysian in Australian education in the mid 1950s came from the Commonwealth Government, which was realistically aware of the political and strategic imperatives attached to Australia's relationship with the newly independent nations of Southeast Asia. One primary motivation for this initiative derived from a concern to block the

penetration of Australia by a monolithic world communism seeking to expand its influence in the newly independent nations of the Asian region. Another was a desire to keep Australia 'white' and free from racial and cultural contamination from Asia's poverty-stricken and teeming millions. There was also a more enlightened aspect of government policy at the time, evident in its strong support of the Colombo Plan and Australian Volunteers Abroad, which were designed to contribute to the economic development of these new nations. Beyond these concerns which the government shared with its electorate, the initiative to introduce the study of Indonesian/Malay did not appear to come as a response to any widespread public demand. There was no local Indonesian community of any consequence in Australia which might have created such a demand and there was no demand from a business community seeking a skills base to establish itself in new markets. If the mixed response which the initiative found in the University of Sydney is any indication, it succeeded in the face of opposition from some in the academic community who were prepared to dismiss Indonesian languages and culture as unworthy of serious academic study.

By the mid 1960s resistance to Indonesian and Malay studies appears to have been overcome. The subject was established as an accepted part of the academic scene where its presence was justified by categorising it as an area study, apparently free to establish its practical relevance to such disciplines as anthropology, history and political science. This may have been motivated by alarm at the aggressive international posturing of an Indonesia imagined to be a communist threat. It may also have been stimulated by the enthusiasm created by teachers, some of whom were Indonesian citizens, knowledgeable about and sympathetic towards Indonesia and Malaysia. Public support for the subject was evident in responses to public opinion surveys conducted in 1963 (see Chapter 2) and in 1970 (Auchmuty 1971:19), in growing student enrolments in the subject and in demand for the subject to be included in the school curriculum.

While the study of Indonesia and Malaysia was generally oriented towards areas relevant to the interests of government policy, the academics and school teachers who were responsible for teaching the subject in these years took the opportunity to ground the study of Indonesian/Malay in fields which were well beyond the immediate concern of government. The study of the modern literature of Indonesia and Malaysia, the study of Islam and the study of the classical civilisations of these two nations found a place alongside the economic, political and sociological study of contemporary culture and society in Australian schools and universities.

The study of Indonesian/Malay found its home, as did the study of other languages, in Australian education where it was assumed to be a subject for an academic elite. Wykes had recommended that Indonesian/Malay be introduced into the upper level of secondary school along with other Asian languages, where it was to be studied by the 'linguistically gifted' student. Language programs in schools at the time demanded high levels of performance and heavy workloads and in universities were oriented towards the need to train academics and research workers. Apart from its foundation in a broad range of cultural studies in which the study of literature had pride of place, the teaching of languages in the late 1960s was in the process of changing its methodology from the grammar-translation method to the new audio-lingual approach. Teachers of Indonesian/Malay, with no coursebooks to call on, were caught betwixt and

between these changes. The first courses and text books were derived from the older grammar-translation method, and it was not until 1968 that the first coursebook geared to the new methodology was published, to be followed by others in the early 1970s.

At this time education in the senior secondary school was undergoing significant changes in the curriculum, intended to provide for the whole range of adolescent abilities and interests, and student numbers were rapidly increasing. It was not only the singularly academic character of the study of languages which caused them to be regarded as irrelevant to the educational and life experiences of increasingly large numbers of school and university students. Students could only have been confirmed in their resistance to the study of languages by the limited prospects of employment associated with the study of languages. Beyond the profession of school teacher there were few career opportunities. Auchmuty, although his survey of business organisations revealed some support for knowledge of Asian languages, also established that few of them saw much scope for employment of personnel with a command of specific Asian languages. Responding to the perceived lack of relevance of the study of languages, by the late 1960s universities no longer required the study of language for entry into their courses. Within undergraduate programs in universities the study of languages became increasingly isolated from other professional and academic disciplines. This was caused by the growing specialisation of disciplines within departments between which there was little formal co-operation — an ironical situation in the case of the study of Indonesian/Malay which had been categorised as an area study because of its relevance to the study of such disciplines as anthropology, history and political science. Finally it is clear that the languages which dominated the curriculum in schools and universities, French, Latin and German, were perceived as having little relevance to either the growing cultural diversity within the Australian community or to the economic, strategic and political relations which Australia had with the rest of the world. Such was the environment in which the initial momentum to introduce the study of Indonesian/Malay into Australian education came into being. It is not surprising then that early increases in student numbers waned in the 1970s, giving rise, as we shall see, in the late 1970s and early 1980s to a concern that their numbers were insufficient to meet the nation's needs.

In their reports, Wykes and Auchmuty understood the need Australians had to master languages other than English for their practical value beyond the academic goals of programs in educational institutions. Although they proclaimed the relevance of languages to Australia's changing society and its business and political relations with other nations, they did not elaborate upon the ways in which this could occur. Instead, as we have seen, they proposed a range of measures which they considered would encourage the wider study of a greater range of languages within Australia's education, in the hope, one presumes, that the study of languages in and of itself would demonstrate the relevance of languages to the everyday life of the nation. Although these reports sought their solutions in the classroom, they did emphasise that students ought to be taught to communicate in the languages which they studied. In this connection, they advocated the new audio-lingual methodology and were keen to see advanced students of languages — in particular those who would make their career as teachers of languages — enjoy the benefit of in-country training, believing that in these ways students would better understand that languages

were not just of the classroom but might be put to good practical use in everyday life. Finally they signalled an awareness that the resources to make the changes which they had recommended were limited. For this reason, and out of the conviction that co-operation between educational institutions was essential if the study of languages was to increase, they recommended that universities, colleges of advanced education and schools work co-operatively.

4 THE GREAT DECLINE 1970-1986

4.1 Introduction

Even while Wykes and Auchmuty were in the process of assessing the situation of the study of languages other than English in Australian education and making recommendations which were intended to encourage their study, profound cultural changes were taking place in Australian society. The period between 1966 and 1986 was a great watershed in Australia's history which was to affect profoundly Australia's relations with the entire Southeast Asia region. It was during this period that Australians were asked to exchange one myth of national identity for another. They have not, subsequently, settled on an adequate vision of themselves or of their place in world affairs, as recurring debate about the flag, the Australian republic, immigration policy and Aborigines make clear.

4.1.1 Australia's foreign relations

We have seen that the failures of the British to halt the rapid advance of Japan through Asia during the Second World War had led successive Australian governments to depend more heavily on an alliance with the United States to guarantee Australia's national security. The reduction and eventual end of British involvement east of Suez and the diminished British presence in Southeast Asia following the end of Confrontation then left Australians with the United States as its one powerful ally in the region. The Australian Government, anxious to see the United States committed to the region, lobbied hard to bring the Americans into Vietnam.⁴³ The war in Vietnam was a failure for Australia and with defeat came the demise of both SEATO and a strong American commitment in the region, save for the Philippines. The 1969 Guam Doctrine of President Nixon essentially stated that the United States would withdraw its forces from Southeast Asia and that it would expect individual nations to be largely responsible for their own security interests.

The victory of the Australian Labor Party in the Federal election of 1972 brought a new attitude towards Australia's international relations. Gone was the old notion of a bipolar world divided by ideology. In its place there came an assumption of the multipolar nature of the world order. The Whitlam Labor Government, accordingly, gradually distanced itself from American foreign policy. They withdrew from ANZUK, lessened their involvement in the Five Power Defence Agreement and were at pains to point out that ANZUS did not bind Australia automatically to following American foreign policy. Concurrently, Australia's relations with its Asian neighbours were emphasised with the recognition of communist China, support for the New International Economic Order and Third World 'Zones of Peace', and the formal abolition of the White Australia policy. With the withdrawal of both Britain and America

43 Greg Pemberton, *All the Way*, Sydney, 1987, presents this unorthodox version of Australia's entry into Vietnam. These ideas are still largely unknown in Australian society, the latter preferring to believe that Australia was forced into fighting in Vietnam because of its ANZUS obligation. In fact, the reverse now seems to be true.

into their own spheres of influence, Australia's prime aim became one of 'regional co-operation' (Meaney 1989:434, 440). The Gorton Government had in fact already signed a cultural agreement with Indonesia in 1972. In 1974 Australia and Japan signed a treaty of friendship, and the Department of Foreign Affairs set up the Australia-Japan Foundation. Similar arrangements for both China and Indonesia were to be put in place at a later date. Respect for and knowledge of Australia's northern neighbours became the focus of the Government's efforts to eliminate traditional fears of Asia's 'teeming millions'.

Following Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, old fears of Indonesia re-emerged. The outcry against the invasion in the media was remarkable. The Australian public have continued to share the media's concern about the Indonesian action. In September 1975, Australians were asked whether East Timor should become independent or be part of Indonesia. Some 38.7% of Australians favoured independence, 17.2% favoured Indonesian control and 44.1% were undecided on the issue. In February 1976 Australians were asked whether they favoured or opposed the Indonesian takeover of East Timor. Again Australians were opposed to Indonesia, with 15.3% of the respondents favouring Indonesian control, 49.5% opposing and 35.2% undecided.⁴⁴ Although the polls indicated a strong opposition to Indonesia's take over of East Timor, the very high 'undecided' result on a crisis so close to Australia is worth noting. Even the killing of five Australian journalists by Indonesian military forces was not enough to sway a third of the population. Both Whitlam and his successor, Malcolm Fraser, protested against the invasion. However, verbal condemnation was the furthest that they were prepared to go. Both men realised that short of going to war, there was little that could be done to reverse Indonesia's action.

We have seen that Australians have, since 1945, consistently been worried by the threat which Indonesia posed to our national security. The antagonism towards Indonesia to which this concern has given rise has never really been abandoned. Since the early 1980s Australians, when they have been asked which nations, if any, threaten Australia's security, have always nominated Indonesia in the top three. When asked if there are any countries which threaten Australia's security, and if so which ones, Australians gave the answers tabulated in Table 3.1 below:⁴⁵

	July 1982	May 1984	May 1987	May 1989
Indonesia	17	17	16	21
Japan	5	2	3	21
Russia	26	14	17	9
America	6	7	8	8
China	7	7	3	7
Vietnam	2	1	2	3
Libya		-	23	-
Others	9	6	7	12
Total Threat	51	53	54	52
No Threat	37	37	38	40
Can't Say	12	10	8	8

Table 3.1
*Australian Public Opinion on Countries Considered a Threat to Australia — 1982-1989**

* The figures are percentages.

⁴⁴ Morgan Gallup Poll No. 87, 27 September 1975 and Morgan Gallup Poll No. 105, 8 February 1976.
⁴⁵ Morgan Gallup Poll, Finding No. 1861, 9 June 1989.

The latest poll in May 1989 indicated that even in a time of relative calm, one in five Australians believed that Indonesia was dangerous to their national security. Even this figure may be conservative. The Asian Studies Group at the University of South Australia stated that 'thirty-five percent of Australians regarded Indonesia as a threat'.⁴⁶ Those with lower levels of education were more likely to be afraid of Japan and Russia. Compared with the national average, however, tertiary-educated Australians were at this time more likely to see Indonesia as a threat to Australian security.⁴⁷ With the Cold War bogey of Chinese expansionism dispelled and following the collapse of the USSR, Australians at the end of the 1980s appeared to fear Indonesia more than any other nation on earth. Moreover, Indonesia's reputation was also impaired by reports in the media of political prisoners, politically inspired murders, corruption and poverty. The most dramatic episode in this respect was provoked by the publication of David Jenkins' article on the business dealings of the Suharto family, which appeared in *The Sydney Morning Herald* in April 1986.

If Australia's defence policy did not imagine Indonesia as a threat at this time, it certainly defined the threat as coming from the north. In the mid 1980s, the official government response to the lack of geographically distant enemies was the idea of 'continental defence', first suggested by E. L. Pearce in the 1930s. The Dibb Report into Australian defence capabilities returned to this idea in 1986.⁴⁸ No proximate enemies are mentioned in the report, at least in the version made available to the public. However the potential for conflict is assumed to exist. All the evidence suggests that the threat is considered to come from the north. Every two years the Australian Defence Forces engage in the 'Kangaroo' exercise against a mythical enemy coming from the north of Australia. They plan for low-level operations against guerilla forces who presumably, if they existed, could only be resupplied from Indonesia. The Jindalee over-the-horizon radar points in one direction only — north towards Indonesia. Units of both army and air forces have also been redeployed to the Northern Territory. Even if Australia did not officially consider Indonesia to be a threat — the Australian Government has been at some pains to emphasise this point — Indonesian concern about Australia's purported friendship was clearly understandable in such circumstances as these.

4.1.2 Australian attitudes to immigration

The victory of the ALP in the Federal elections of 1972 also brought new and important changes to Australia's immigration policy and to official attitudes concerning the rights, cultures and languages of immigrant communities and of Aborigines. We have seen that during the 1960s, despite the fact that the Australian public was not at all eager to abandon a restrictive immigration policy, the White Australia policy had been ameliorated by the Federal

46 'Submission to the Inquiry into Australia's Relations with Indonesia', in Commonwealth of Australia, Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, *Inquiry into Australia's Relations with Indonesia*. Public Submissions, 1991.2, p. 8645.

47 Morgan Gallup Poll Finding No. 1861, 9 June 1989.

48 Paul Dibb, *Review of Australia's Defence Capabilities*. Report for the Minister for Defence, Canberra, 1986.

Government. At the same time the notion of assimilation was abandoned and replaced by that of integration, a shift in terminology which was intended to signify a two-way process (Clyne 1991:18-9). With the arrival of the Whitlam Labor Government, the White Australia policy was officially renounced and the idea of a multicultural Australia was adopted with the purpose of ensuring that all Australians, whatever their cultural origins, would enjoy the same social rights. The new policy acknowledged that the cultures and languages of the various Australian ethnic communities were part of the shared heritage of all Australians (Clyne 1991:19).

In part, this change had been brought about by the withdrawal of the United States from Southeast Asia following the Vietnam War, but, in particular, it was caused by the psychological effects of the withdrawal of Britain from her former colonial domains east of Suez and her entry into the EEC. After being 'good Australian Britons' for 175 years, fighting Britain's wars and feeding her population, many Australians were disillusioned with an identity founded on British origins. The presence in Australia of large numbers of non-English speaking immigrants, increasingly recruited from southern and central Europe in times of economic prosperity, and the presence of many Asian students brought to study in Australian universities under the aegis of the Colombo Plan created a cultural environment in which Australians of non-British descent and other members of a new Australian intelligentsia, strongly committed to social equity and multiculturalism, were able to challenge older attitudes. Many of those who were critical of old attitudes were members or supporters of the ALP, and once the party had assumed power, they were able, as members of migration action groups and alliances and as members of government committees in the area of immigration and ethnic affairs, to influence and change government policy.

Along with these changes, the identification of Australian nationalism and English monolingualism evaporated and in its place came a new Australian nationalism which recognised the linguistic diversity of the Australian population. Community languages came to be widely heard on radio and television, and since the Inquiry into Schools of High Migrant Density in 1974, multicultural education, involving the study of languages other than English, became an officially accepted principle of education in Australia.

Following the defeat of the Liberal and National Parties in the 1972 elections, progressives in these conservative parties also promoted aspects of multiculturalism so that by the time the Labor Government was replaced in 1975 by the conservative Fraser coalition, multiculturalism had bipartisan support. It was the conservative coalition government which tabled the Galbally Report on Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants and this same government initiated the enquiry on a National Language Policy. When the Hawke Labor Government came to power in 1983, it too continued supporting the idea of a multicultural Australia and was finally responsible for the adoption and implementation of the National Policy on Languages in 1987.

Lo Bianco has argued that in the period in which multilingualism was accepted as part of an Australian multicultural identity, there were three phases — or, as Clyne is inclined to argue, three factors — which contributed to the widespread acceptance of multiculturalism (Lo Bianco 1990:86-7; Clyne 1991:25). According to Lo Bianco, the early 1970s was a period in which a 'discourse of disadvantage'

prevailed, stressing the social and occupational inequality which members of Australia's Aboriginal and migrant communities had experienced. The early programs designed to remove this inequality, such as the Child Migrant Education Program and Aboriginal Transitional Bilingual Programs in areas of Commonwealth jurisdiction in education, targeted immigrants and Aboriginal Australians. By the mid 1970s, the grounds of the argument for multiculturalism had shifted to cultural (rather than class-based) explanations of the disadvantage suffered by migrant communities. A 'key symbolic act' which marked this phase was the renaming of 'ethnic' or 'migrant' languages as 'community' languages. The maintenance of 'community' languages was symbolic of the identity of migrant groups. The whole Australian community was now targeted, and not just ethnic communities, with arguments that teaching community languages would create intercultural tolerance and would overcome the educational disadvantage experienced by migrant children. This discourse was enshrined in the Galbally report and in programs of self-help, such as support for ethnic schools, grants-in-aid for welfare to community groups and the Multicultural Education Program designed for 'all students in all schools'. By the mid 1980s, while elements of the previous two phases have been maintained, a new economically focused discourse, 'functional and instrumentalist' in character, had been formulated, emphasising the benefits of multilingualism to society at large. The maintenance of minority languages and cultures was understood to be part of a wider program in education to provide 'an enriched base from which students could acquire the specific cultural and language skills which [were] in demand, but which [were] not widely available, among the population (eg, Japanese), or their direct use if they coincide[d] with practical economic needs' (Lo Bianco 1990:86-7). This process culminated in the National Policy on Languages which acknowledged bilingual Australians as an asset and asserted that languages other than English were important to a multicultural Australia and to Australia's economic and political relations with other nations.

By the mid 1980s, then, the development of the concept of a multicultural, multilingual Australia had brought languages emphatically out of the classroom and into the sphere of everyday life. Not only was the legitimacy of languages as a means of communication within Australia's ethnic communities signalled, but by the mid 1980s their pragmatic value to the economic life of the country was promoted and more widely understood in the community.

Multiculturalism, however, did not go unchallenged in this period. Significant in the challenge to multiculturalism were the views of the eminent historian Geoffrey Blainey. In 1984, in the context of debate about Asian immigration, Blainey argued that immigration from Asian countries had reached levels incompatible with public opinion, that multiculturalism was divisive and that command of English ought to play an important role in the selection of migrants. Blainey's questioning of multiculturalism and his call for a re-examination of the cultural implications of migration from Asian countries was greeted on the one hand by charges of racism and on the other with approval by such organisations as the League of Rights and by individuals such as Bruce Ruxton, President of the Victorian Branch of the Returned Services League. The strength of feelings expressed in the debate and its longevity as an issue in the public eye indicate that it struck a responsive chord in Australian society. Since the early 1980s, between 55% and 60% of the Australian population have expressed concern that too many Asians were coming to live in Australia.

It is important to note the very real changes which have occurred in the Australian public's attitude towards Asian immigration into Australia since the late 1970s. Before that time, the Australian public was generally happy with the level of Asian immigration. When asked if they thought that the number of Asians coming to Australia was too high, too low or about right, in 1966 25% of respondents thought that the intake was about right. In 1969 and 1970 roughly the same percentage indicated satisfaction with the current intake. By 1974, 53% of the population thought that the level of Asian immigration per annum was right, with 32% thinking it was too high.⁴⁹ However, a decade later 58% of Australians believed that the current level was too high, with 31% feeling that the level was appropriate. These figures were repeated in 1988.⁵⁰ Clearly, the Australian Government and public were at odds with each other on the question of Asian immigration for the first time in Australia's history (Clyne 1991:22-3).

In the context of discussion about multiculturalism and Asian immigration, it is important to note that the Indonesian/Malay speaking community in Australia has been a small one. Between the mid 1960s and mid 1970s about 300 Indonesians per year arrived in Australia, compared with 1100 per year from the mid 1970s till the mid 1980s. These figures included students only temporarily resident in Australia. Nevertheless there were on average, 380 Indonesians per year settling in Australia between 1976 and 1986 (see Chapter 6). The small size and low political profile of the Indonesian community in this period meant that the language and cultural needs of the Indonesian community in Australia did not attract much public attention in a period when the interests of larger immigrant groups were promoted within the context of a multicultural Australia.

4.1.3 The economy

In the final year of the Liberal-National Party coalition before the Federal elections in 1972, the 30-year economic boom showed signs of ending. Inflation and unemployment at the time were on the increase in every prosperous, industrialised country. By mid 1971, under the conservative coalition, unemployment in Australia approached 2% of the work force and the inflation rate was more than 6% per annum, figures which at the time were unacceptably high to an Australian population long used to full employment and a prosperous way of life. This situation continued under the Whitlam Labor Government. The economic troubles of the Whitlam period of government, like those of other OECD countries, were triggered by the oil crisis in 1973 when the price of oil quadrupled. At the same time productivity slowed and with it the general rise in standards of living. Initially unemployment fell but inflation, in part because of increased government spending, continued to rise until it reached 14% in May 1974. By August 1975 a sense of economic crisis existed with unemployment running at 5% and a rate of inflation of 15%. The government responded with a budget which was restrictive and deflationary. The financial management of

⁴⁹ Morgan Gallup Poll No. 186, 11 November 1966; Morgan Gallup Poll No. 205, 15 August 1969; Morgan Gallup Poll No. 214, October 1970; and Morgan Gallup Poll No. 26, 6 April 1974.

⁵⁰ Morgan Gallup Poll No. 589, 26 May 1984; and Morgan Gallup Poll Finding No. 1755, 27 September 1988.

the Labor Government played a major part in the constitutional crisis which led to the dismissal of the government by Governor-General Kerr and no doubt also influenced Australians in the election which followed and which brought the conservative Fraser Coalition to power in December 1975.

The new Fraser Government focused its attention on reducing the level of inflation by restrictive fiscal, monetary and wage policies and by maintaining the value of the Australian dollar at a level which economists regarded as artificially high. Considerable cuts to government expenditure were effected, to education in particular, which is important in the context of our discussion of the situation of languages other than English. These policies had some measure of success. The rate of inflation dropped from 15-17% in 1975 to 8% in 1978 with some improvement in the level of economic activity. By 1983, however, inflation had increased again to 10-11%. Unemployment continued to increase throughout the period, rising from 5% in 1975 to 10% in 1983. By this time, on the eve of the March 1983 Federal elections, Australia was at the bottom of the worst economic recession in decades. This recession had been created by a world recession in the early 1980s, by bad climatic conditions for Australian farmers, but also by substantial wage increases between 1980 and 1982, which, coupled with the election budget of the Fraser coalition in 1982-3, caused a blow-out in the budget deficit (Ward 1977:394-5, 406, 411, 413; Grattan and Gruen 1993:96-8). The first years of the Hawke Government between 1983 and 1985 saw a rapid recovery in the economy. Wages were contained within the consensus achieved by the Accord. Wage restraint, combined with financial deregulation, including the floating of the dollar, commitment to small government, the breaking of the drought, and excess capacity resulting from the previous recession, permitted the rapid generation of output, reductions in the budget deficits and significant growth in employment. Some 200,000 new jobs were created each year between 1983 and 1986 and budget surpluses were achieved in 1986 and 1987 (Grattan and Gruen 1993:98-101; INDECS 1992:17-9).

We noted above changes in Australia's trading relationships in the period between 1945 and 1970. These trends continued in the 1970s and early 1980s. By 1980, less than 5% of Australia's exports went to the United Kingdom, and the United Kingdom's share of imports into Australia stood at less than 10%. Japan was in this period the principal market for Australian exports, taking as much as 30% of the total in the early 1980s. At the same time about 10% of exports went to the United States. Imports from Japan and the United States each had a 20% share of the Australian market. In the 1970s and early 1980s Australia's trade with Southeast Asia, particularly with ASEAN countries, increased significantly. Between 1970 and 1986 aggregate Australian trade with Indonesia increased from \$73 to \$455 million. Over the period rates of growth in exports and imports indicate erratic but significant increases in trade between the two countries. However, these increases were from a low base and, compared with trade with each country's major trading partners — Japan, United States, the EEC — the trading relationship between Australia and Indonesia was a small one. Indonesia's exports to Australia rose from 0.3% of total exports in 1970 to 2.0% in 1986-88, while Indonesia's imports from Australia remained relatively stable between 3% and 4% in the period between 1975 and 1988. Australia enjoyed a favourable balance of trade with Indonesia throughout this period. Despite the small volume of trade, intensity of trade indices indicate that bilateral trade between the two countries was greater than might have been

expected on the basis of each country's share of international trade at this time. This was especially the case for Australia's exports to Indonesia. Both countries were net importers of capital and technology and neither accounted for a significant proportion in each other's investment from overseas. Investment intensity indices, however, indicate that, at least in the 1970s, Australian investment in Indonesia was quite intense, lower only than investment from Japan and Hong Kong (Pangestu 1991; Hill 1991; Krause 1984).

4.2 Educational environment

By the mid 1970s the collapse in the study of languages other than English in schools and universities, which Wykes had predicted, had become a reality. Despite the very much larger numbers of students who were entering the upper secondary schools, universities and colleges of advanced education, both the proportions and numbers of students taking languages had dropped significantly. Only 14% of matriculation students presented themselves for examination in these subjects, and in universities only 21.34% of BA students and 6.84% of all undergraduates were enrolling to study languages other than English. The losses to language study were sustained principally in French and Latin. The numbers in the case of German remained more stable. While increasing numbers of students were taking 'new' languages such as Italian, Indonesian/Malay, Japanese and Spanish, we have seen that their numbers were not sufficient to make up for the losses to French and Latin (see Chapter 2).

In the case of Indonesian/Malay, enrolments in colleges of advanced education and universities continued to increase until 1975. In this year it was the most studied language in colleges of advanced education and the third most studied language in universities. By the early 1980s, however, this situation had altered. Between 1975 and 1981 enrolments in courses of Indonesian/Malay in the tertiary sector had dropped noticeably, and, as we have seen, this fall was coincident with a decline in the level of interest amongst the general public recorded in public opinion polls in 1977 and 1978 (see Chapter 2). This occurred despite the fact that a larger number of tertiary institutions were offering the subject than before. It is more difficult to ascertain the situation of the language in schools from the statistical information which is available on enrolment trends in schools at the time. One thing is clear, however. The number of school students taking Indonesian/Malay increased between 1975 and 1983. Although 8% fewer students per 10,000 were studying the language in 1988, it maintained its position as the fourth most studied language in secondary schools and had the third largest matriculation candidature until the end of the 1980s. Public opinion polls reflect this same level of importance. However, the 41% drop in numbers of Year 12 students taking the language between 1983 and 1988 does suggest that students were certainly not persisting with the study of Indonesian/Malay in the upper high school and perhaps also that fewer had been taking the subject in lower secondary schools in this period (see Chapter 2).

4.2.1 The schools: Language study for the intellectual elite?

In 1973 Robinson wrote, on behalf of the Centre for Research in Measurement and Evaluation of the Department of Education of New South Wales, a report on the situation of the teaching of languages other than English in New South Wales. Robinson's report, written towards the end of the period of rapid decline in the numbers of students learning languages, provides us with an impression of the circumstances in which this decline took place. (How typical the situation in New South Wales was of other States in Australia must await further investigation.) The introduction of the Wyndham reforms in secondary education in New South Wales in the early 1960s was designed to provide a curriculum which was suited for the whole range of adolescents in the secondary schools, and not just to serve the interests of an academic elite who would go on to further study at university. The reforms resulted in a significant increase in the numbers of students who continued their education to the level of the Higher School Certificate. In the years between 1964 and 1974 the numbers sitting for this examination increased from 24,495 to 31,112 (Robinson 1973:44-5). In these same years, as elsewhere in Australia, there was a significant drop in the proportion of students presenting themselves for examination in languages at the Higher School Certificate. The proportion dropped from 54.9% of the total candidature to just 19.7%. According to Robinson, we are witness here not just to a stable candidature which constituted an increasingly smaller proportion of the total candidature of students sitting for the examination. Rather there was evidence of a significant decrease in the actual numbers of students studying languages other than English. Fewer students were taking up the study of languages in the second year of high school and fewer of them were persisting with the study of them to the final year of secondary education (Robinson 1973:12).

The principal sites of this dramatic decrease were French and Latin. The French candidature for the Higher School Certificate dropped from 37% of the total candidature to just 11% between 1965 and 1974. The drop in the case of Latin was even more dramatic in these same years. The situation of German was more stable. In this same period increasing numbers of students were taking up the study of other languages such as Chinese, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese and Spanish. However, consistent with the general trend across Australia, the numbers of these students were insufficient to compensate for the losses in French and Latin (see above and Robinson 1973: Tables XIIa and XIIb). Indonesian/Malay illustrates the point well. Indonesian/Malay was introduced for examination at the Higher School Certificate level in New South Wales for the first time in 1967. In that year there were 181 students who made up 1.2% of the total candidature sitting for the examination. In 1969 the number had risen to 979 which was 3.15% of the total candidature, and in 1974 there were 779 students who represented 2.5% of the candidature, a proportion still far below that of French in the same year (Robinson 1973:Table XIIb).

In her accounting for these developments, Robinson, like previous commentators, considered that the gradual abandonment of language requirements to enter universities had had an important role in creating the disinclination amongst students to take up the study of languages. She also endorsed the view of Wykes that the location and type of school were influential in determining initial enrolments and that gender was the most important factor determining persistence in the study of these subjects.

Robinson did not discuss general community attitudes in her 1973 report. However, this was a matter which she addressed in a survey of the attitudes of parents of pupils in the final year of primary school in Armidale and parts of Newcastle and Sydney which she carried out in 1975. Wykes, it will be recalled, found evidence in the Australian community in the early 1960s of an apathy and even hostility towards the study of languages and, associated with it, a view that language study had little or no vocational value (see Chapter 3). The parents who were the subject of Robinson's survey in 1975 came from a limited number of locations, and it needs to be noted that 87% of her respondents were native speakers of English. How widespread the attitudes of her sample were in the Australian community more generally, therefore, is uncertain. However, Robinson did discover evidence of a much more positive attitude to the study of languages other than English than did Wykes. Some 92% of all parents who responded to the survey thought that languages other than English ought to be taught in schools and half of these wanted language study as part of the core curriculum; 81% favoured language study beginning at the primary level. It was only amongst the 8% of parents who did not support teaching languages that we find the view that there was little vocational advantage to be had from the study of languages. Parents who were in favour of language study mentioned French, German, Japanese and Indonesian/Malay most frequently as the languages which ought to be taught, a finding which accords with the status of Indonesian/Malay in public opinion polls.

The most common purpose that parents attached to learning languages was that they provided an insight into the way of life of other peoples. Some 20%-25% thought that the main purpose of studying languages was vocational and 18% considered that their main value was for travel. However, when parents were asked the reasons why their own child should study a particular language, opinions varied markedly with the language. In the case of those who wanted their children to study an 'Asian, Southeast Asian or Pacific [sic] language the answer most frequently given attached importance to the fact that the peoples who spoke these languages were near neighbours. The vocational value of language study, which had figured prominently amongst the general reasons for teaching languages in schools, was not given as the first reason in the case of any language. It was only the second reason given in the case of those who wanted their children to study a Southeast Asian or Pacific language (Robinson 1977: 1-7).

In her report of 1973 Robinson drew attention to problems which had arisen because of new language syllabuses introduced in the early 1970s. These syllabuses had been designed to introduce the audio-lingual method of language learning in schools and this change in direction had given rise to a number of problems. At the time external examinations exercised an important control over what was taught in the classroom in the final years of secondary school in preparing students for the Higher School Certificate examination. She discovered that examinations were being set which were inconsistent with the intention of the new syllabuses to provide the opportunity for students to develop their communicative skills. A likely consequence of the failure of those responsible for setting examinations to cater adequately for this facet of language study was that it would curb student interest in pursuing those parts of the syllabus dealing with audio-lingual skills. The introduction of the new

methodology had also brought with it the problem of finding suitably trained teachers who could teach the aural-oral skills demanded by the new syllabuses.

Robinson, however, was not convinced that these factors provided an entirely satisfactory explanation of what was happening in the teaching of languages. She recognised in the situation a larger issue at play. Above we noted that Wykes had claimed that the study of languages had been confined to academic schools and the academic streams of comprehensive schools. She considered that languages were subjects that students found difficult and believed that French syllabuses of the day demanded too much in the time available. Moreover, when recommending the wider teaching of Asian languages she had conceded that these would best be introduced into the upper secondary schools where only those students who were recognised as linguistically gifted would take them (see Chapter 3). Robinson, aware of these aspects of language study in schools, argued that an elitist attitude toward the study of languages had continued to hold sway and had had a major influence in causing students to reject the study of languages once they were no longer required to study them. Furthermore, she was convinced that only an academic elite could in fact cope with the demanding educational regime traditionally associated with the study of languages. The mastery of these subjects required more time than other subjects and involved large amounts of homework, hours of memorisation and a high level of reasoning. They also had no necessary relevance to student interests. She found it a little surprising that even those languages most recently introduced into the mainstream curriculum in the late 1960s and early 1970s, such as Indonesian/Malay, shared in this elitist attitude (Robinson 1973:2, 12). Her comparison of the profiles of students of languages and those in other subjects based upon IQ ratings and performance in Higher School Certificate examinations in the period 1968-72 confirmed her view that there was no evidence to suggest that the elite character of students who studied languages other than English had changed since the introduction of the Wyndham scheme (Robinson 1973:4-6 and Appendix A).

In the context of the democratic educational regime of the Wyndham reforms, the judgement that the study of languages were for an academic elite only meant that it was excluded from the core curriculum. It was simply not reasonable to 'wilfully subject the majority of the general student population to certain failure' (Robinson 1973:3). With the study of languages other than English excluded from the core curriculum, students turned their attention to other subjects. Languages, therefore, did not participate in the massive expansion which took place in education in the upper secondary schools in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Moreover, even the academic elite for whom these subjects were intended, turned away from them. In Robinson's view a reassessment of the goals and the place of the study of languages other than English in education was called for. This should be done, she said, 'taking into account the needs, and abilities of all adolescents, and with the general aims of education, which reflect community needs' in mind (Robinson 1973:14).

4.2.1.1 Background speakers of Indonesian/Malay

In Chapter 2 we noted the 41% decline in Year 12 students studying Indonesian/Malay between 1983 and 1988. This drop in numbers of enrolments was in considerable measure due to a decrease in New South Wales. Eltis and Cooney in their report on the provision of language teaching at the senior secondary level in New South Wales between 1981 and 1983 identified background speakers of Indonesian/Malay as a significant proportion of the candidature of Indonesian at the Higher School Certificate examination. In their survey of students Eltis and Cooney asked students their reasons for choosing to study languages other than English. Responses to this question revealed that background speakers of Indonesian/Malay were strongly motivated by the contribution which they anticipated their results in Indonesian would make to their aggregate marks. Some 73% of these students gave this as the reason for their choice of this subject. This was double the percentage of non-background speakers who considered this reason important in their decision to study Indonesian/Malay. According to Eltis and Cooney the great majority of background speakers of Indonesian/Malay were not Australian citizens or permanent residents but holders of temporary student visas which permitted them to study for the Higher School Certificate in New South Wales. The presence of these background speakers in the candidature of the Higher School Certificate caused Eltis and Cooney to group Indonesian/Malay with Italian and Japanese as language subjects in which students who were learning these languages as second languages were mixed with others who were learning them for the purpose of mother tongue or cultural maintenance and who already had a prior background in the language before they began formal study of the language at school. This situation was one which those students who were studying Indonesian/Malay as a second language believed placed them at a considerable disadvantage in the Higher School Certificate examination and the mark-scaling practices associated with it. Although both groups of students had legitimate reasons to study the language, Eltis and Cooney believed that background speakers ought not to be permitted to sit for the same examinations as those specifically designed for students who were studying the language as a second language. Appropriate syllabuses and examinations were prepared for these two different groups of learners of Indonesian/Malay in New South Wales and approved in 1982. They were examined separately for the first time in 1984. The dramatic drop in numbers occurred after this event:

Year	Indonesian	Bahasa Indonesia/Malaysia	Total
1983	722	-	722
1984	277	403	680
1985	221	362	583
1986	196	145	341
1987	-	-	-
1988	312	84	396

Table 4.2
Numbers of students studying Indonesian and Bahasa Indonesia/Malaysia 1983-1988

The creation of the two separate syllabuses and examinations, it would seem, had come too late to influence the groups of second language learners who entered secondary school between 1978 and 1982 and who would have sat for the Higher School Certificate between the years 1984 and 1988. The decrease in the numbers

of background speakers in this same period is perhaps more difficult to explain. However, it is probable that the new syllabus and examination for which native speakers had to sit now gave them little of the natural advantage which they might have had in a context in which they were placed together in the one examination with those learning Indonesian/Malay as a second language (Eltis and Cooney 1983:43-4, 166-70).

4.2.2 Higher education

The Universities Commission, when it had prepared its Fifth Report in 1972 for the triennium 1973-75, was cognisant of the rapid decline in the numbers of students who were studying languages other than English in the senior secondary schools and in universities and colleges of advanced education. It was concerned that continuing proposals of tertiary institutions to establish new language courses would therefore result only in the duplication of courses which would attract small enrolments, and be both costly and academically weak. The Commission considered the future of Asian languages in this situation. In view of the fact that Asian languages were at the time not commonly taught in Australia and the numbers of enrolments were likely to be small, the Commission believed that the wider provision of Asian languages could only result in what it described as 'small and necessarily weak departments' in universities. It therefore sought to encourage the co-operation which Wykes had earlier suggested between universities and colleges of advanced education in the area of language study (Working Party 1976:1).

Despite its advice, universities and colleges of advanced education persisted in their proposals to introduce new language courses. The Commission was also aware that the new climate of multiculturalism in the community had given rise to a growing demand on the part of Australia's migrant communities for the introduction of the study of their languages in tertiary institutions and also to demands for the study of Aboriginal languages. Confronted by these demands, and no doubt under pressure to curb the costs of education because of the economic crisis, the Commission established a Working Party to report on the decline in language study and any 'unnecessary duplication of course offerings'. It was also to investigate the teaching of migrant languages and cultures and linguistics, in particular Aboriginal linguistics (Working Party 1976:1-7).

The Working Party pointed out that student enrolments in languages had suffered because of a number of factors. These included the availability of similar courses at the secondary level, what the Working Party described as the extent to which a particular subject was academically fashionable, and of course the gradual abolition of compulsory language requirements to enter universities. Although there was growing pressure from within migrant communities and from Aboriginal Australians for increased opportunities to study their languages at the tertiary level, the Working Party was convinced that the pervasive influence of monolingualism in Australian social life had become 'increasingly apparent at all levels of educational experience' and also underlay the decline in student interest in the study of foreign languages. This decline was linked, in the Working Party's view, to the vocational prospects which were attached to

subjects at tertiary level. There were few opportunities for language specialists beyond school teaching, and the decline in the study of languages in Australian schools suggested that even in this area there might well be fewer opportunities in the future. The only other area of employment in which the Working Party thought there might be realistic opportunities for language graduates was translating and interpreting (Working Party 1976:29, 41-3).

In this situation the Working Party had little reason to believe that numbers of enrolments would increase in courses of languages other than English. It also believed that there was little that the Universities Commission or universities might do to arrest the decline in enrolments in language courses (Working Party 1976:27). It found no evidence of any significant unsatisfied demand for language courses and therefore did not believe that there was any case for a major expansion of existing offerings beyond rectifying the deficiency which it found in the case of some of the languages and cultures of 'significant migrant groups'. Continued neglect of such studies 'would ... be to waste an opportunity to develop courses which are highly desirable both for their own sake and for their value to the wider community', and so the Working Party specified the languages and cultures of a number of eastern European countries and cultural groups together with Malta and Turkey, which they believed required special attention (Working Party 1976:7, 44-51).

Apart from the case of the migrant languages mentioned above, the Working Party believed that there was no unsatisfied demand amongst students for language courses, but it did not discover any significant overlap in offerings between universities in the same city or region either. There was, however, in its opinion 'considerable potential' for the duplication of language courses (Working Party 1976:14). Its concerns for duplication were twofold. The Working Party was concerned that the proliferation of a large number of small departments would lead to a diminution of academic standards, particularly when there was, in some fields of language study, real difficulty in recruiting suitable staff. At the same time there was the important question of the financial costs attached to the establishment and maintenance of departments of language study. Not only were there the costs of a minimum staffing establishment of about four, but there were also the considerable costs of library collections and language laboratory facilities to be considered (Working Party 1976:8, 19, 32-3).

The Working Party sought solutions to this situation in a number of measures. As we have seen, it was aware of the impact of the gradual abolition of language requirements for university entrance. It declared itself opposed to any reintroduction of compulsory requirements but it did accept that there was a case for the possible use of incentive measures through matriculation or degree requirements to attract students to language study. Universities were also urged to review their language programs in the light of falling enrolments and to be realistic in reducing the financial and staffing resources in the case of those departments which were no longer viable in terms of enrolments. The Working Party regarded Classical (European) languages as something of an exception to this general principle, arguing that there were languages which had 'intrinsic academic benefits which go beyond their immediate capacity to attract student enrolments' (Working Party 1976:8). More importantly there was considerable scope, in the view of the Working Party, for much more co-operation between universities and colleges of advanced education in the same city or region in the

offerings of language and language-related courses. The Working Party went so far as to recommend that in the 1976-78 triennium a review of existing co-operation should be undertaken with a view to expanding it greatly, thus reducing overlap in course offerings and competition for student enrolments and encouraging the sharing of staff expertise and the costs of expensive facilities (Working Party 1976:8, 37).

In its review of new course proposals for Indonesian/Malay, the Working Party spelt out in detail the implications it saw for such co-operation. It endorsed only the proposals of the University of Tasmania and The Flinders University of South Australia to introduce courses in Indonesian/Malay; at the latter because the courses were introduced specifically to complement offerings in Asian languages at the University of Adelaide. The introduction of Malay at Murdoch University was supported because it was considered not to duplicate the teaching of Indonesian at the Western Australian Institute of Technology. However, plans at the universities of New England and Wollongong for the development of Asian studies in which Indonesian/Malay language courses were to be an important element were not supported on the grounds that existing courses at the Australian National University and at the University of Sydney were sufficient to provide for existing demand in New South Wales and the ACT. The University of Wollongong was urged instead to attend to the needs of the migrant community in its immediate area. The Working Party endorsed the intention of the University of Queensland not to introduce Indonesian/Malay in view of the establishment of the School of Modern Asian Studies at Griffith University where the language was taught and recommended that the James Cook University of Northern Queensland consolidate its teaching of Indonesian/Malay and French. When endorsing the proposals of the University of New South Wales to promote cross disciplinary studies in Asian studies and the introduction of Japanese at the University of Newcastle it recommended that both universities should consult with the University of Sydney before introducing the study of any further Asian languages (Working Party 1976:52-60).

The Working Party also noted that the teaching of languages in schools, universities and colleges of advanced education was undergoing significant changes. It applauded a number of these and sought to encourage them. At the time it found that the primacy of a literary education, modelled on the Classics and presumed to nurture discrimination and independence of judgement, was giving way to the more pragmatic needs of a wide variety of professional personnel such as school teachers. Their need was for an ability to communicate in the languages which they were studying and this change in purpose had brought significant changes in teaching methods. It noted that the old emphasis on translation, grammar, textual analysis and commentary was being replaced by audio-lingual classroom strategies, designed to develop a communicative ability in the language.

While there was a continuing place for literary studies, the Working Party noted that links with other disciplines such as philosophy, the social sciences, business studies, regional studies and with science, medicine and engineering had been established. These interdisciplinary and inter-departmental links were seized upon by the Working Party. The Working Party argued that there were good academic reasons for encouraging this development. No serious, in-depth study of a culture of a foreign country was, in the view of the Working Party,

possible without a correspondingly serious study of its language. Moreover, students who combined a professional training with the study of a language would enhance their prospect of employment in areas in which they could 'use their language skills in practical situations'. The Working Party's interest in interdisciplinary studies was also motivated by the greater flexibility which interdisciplinary and interdepartmental co-operation would create in the distribution of scarce resources. The incorporation of language studies in larger schools or groups of departments such as a school of Asian studies or a department of modern languages and the use of boards of studies to oversee interdisciplinary programs involving languages, it thought, would be advantageous in this regard (Working Party 1976:30-1).

The Working Party also considered that the quality of language teaching and the high number of contact hours for students of languages in comparison with other subjects were in all likelihood additional reasons why more students did not study them at the tertiary level. Believing these two issues to be interrelated, it advocated the continued adoption of more intensive methods of teaching languages in the classroom and the use of technological teaching aids. It believed that alterations in the pattern of teaching were appropriate and encouraged universities to consider the use of short intensive courses offered outside the framework of normal degree courses which might be offered in vacation periods and which might be credited to degrees. In this regard it was anxious that greater use be made of adult or continuing education courses, particularly because such courses were made available to a wide variety of members of the community and made for a more flexible use of resources (Working Party 1976:29-34).

The Working Party was particularly keen to encourage in-country training of students of languages. It considered that all students who undertook the study of languages at honours and postgraduate level should spend at least one semester, but preferably two, abroad in a country in which the language they were studying was spoken as a native language and that such study ought to be regarded as part of the students' degree requirements. It called for government involvement in the establishment of arrangements under which such overseas study would occur and for co-operation between tertiary institutions to prevent duplication of effort. It considered in some detail the costs of running such a scheme and ways in which the costs involved would not be beyond the reach of students (Working Party 1976:29-30, 38-40).

We have noted in Chapter 2 that between 1967 and 1975, at a time when enrolments in French and Latin were tumbling and those in German were relatively stable, students were beginning to enrol in larger numbers in Italian, Indonesian/Malay, Japanese and Spanish. By the early 1980s in New South Wales, 27 languages were available for examination at the Higher School Certificate examination. Nationally, 31 languages were studied in Australian universities and 17 were offered in colleges of advanced education. By 1988, 54 languages were available for study in Australian schools and, in 1990, 37 were offered in Australian higher education. The increase in the languages available in Australian education provides a measure of the strength of response to the new policy of multiculturalism. The Working Party of the Universities Commission which reported in 1975 also responded positively to the need to expand the teaching of the languages of significant migrant groups in Australia. As we have

seen, it calculated at the time that there was only need to provide additional funding for the study of the languages and cultures of several eastern European countries and those of Turkey and Malta in Australian universities and colleges of advanced education.

4.3 Fitzgerald and Legge: Asian languages in decline

While the country was preoccupied with its new interest in the creation of a multicultural Australia, it appears that all was not well with the study of Asian languages and culture in Australian schools, colleges of advanced education and universities. Enrolments in courses on Asian languages and culture, following an initial rapid increase in numbers, appeared to have plateaued or even declined. As we have seen, enrolments in Indonesian/Malay in Australian colleges of advanced education and universities had declined between 1975 and 1983. In the case of schools, the evidence for numbers stabilising or declining is much less clear in this period. The drop of 41% in numbers of students taking Indonesian/Malay in Year 12 between 1983 and 1988 does suggest, however, that in the years prior to 1983 fewer students were persisting with the subject in the upper high school and perhaps that fewer had been taking up the study of the language in the lower years of secondary school. Be that as it may, the Asian Studies Association of Australia was alerted to evidence of a possible decline in the study of Asian languages and culture and initiated two inquiries into the situation of Asian studies in Australian education, the first in 1978-9 (Fitzgerald 1980) and the second in 1983-4 (Legge 1984).

The first report took as its point of departure the value of Asian studies for their intrinsic intellectual worth as well as their usefulness in the context of Australia's geographical position, as well as its economic, strategic and political relations with the nations to Australia's north. Based on a broad survey, it described the existing situation of Asian studies in Australian education, arguing on this basis that enrolments had peaked and were in all probability declining in Australian schools, colleges of advanced education and universities. This situation, it argued, would not equip Australia for a future in which its intellectual, economic, strategic and political involvement with Asia would be met. The report made a wide range of recommendations relating to the encouragement of the study of Asian countries at primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education. In its recommendations it paid attention to teaching Asian languages, training teachers and to curricular developments. An important aspect of this report was the emphasis which it placed on the need to address community attitudes. Amongst its recommendations were important ones which underlined important initiatives to be undertaken in the areas of media coverage, adult education and the performing and visual arts.

The second inquiry found evidence to suggest that the decline in enrolments had been arrested but it was still of the view that the level of Asian studies in Australia was too low for the nation's current and future needs. Part of the enquiry on which this second report is based was a survey of all second year students in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Sydney to determine their attitudes towards the study of Asia and an analysis of the first job destination of

graduates with training in Asian studies. Only 24% of the respondents were studying Asia-related subjects, the most common reason given being that of 'interest', given by 28.3% of respondents. Other responses given were 'lack of choice due to degree requirements' (4.5%), 'Australia is part of Asia and therefore it is important to study Asia' (8.8%), 'uniqueness and hence attraction of Asia' (9.8%), 'travel heightened interest in Asia' (6.2%) and 'to redress a previous ignorance of Asia' (5.3%). Some 67% of respondents who were studying Asia-related subjects expected to use their subject in their careers. However, only 28% expected to use that subject in their first job, an expectation which the author of the survey believed was optimistic. An analysis in 1982 of the first destination of employment of graduates of departments of Indonesian and Malayan Studies and Oriental Studies indicated that most of these graduates went on to further study and that the prospect of finding employment in which they were likely to use their knowledge in Asia was bleak. The author of this inquiry believed that too little was being done to promote the attributes of graduates with such training to government, industry and the public at large. Moreover, the high level of indifference to and ignorance of the value of studying Asia-related subjects which the survey of second year students of arts revealed also needed to be rectified 'with a positive program to market Asia-related study to university students commencing their degrees' (Legge 1984:20-5; Jacobs 1982).

The committee responsible for the second report, in a submission made to the Inquiry into a National Language Policy, emphasised a number of recommendations designed to ensure the wider availability of Asian languages at tertiary level. Amongst these was a recommendation that 'tertiary courses in Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian should exist in every state'. In this regard it noted the absence of study of Indonesian/Malay in Tasmania and recommended that 'processes should be made for its introduction' (Legge 1984:75). The report considered that the trend towards school-based curriculum was creating problems for the planning and implementation of a national language policy or even a series of State policies. It called for the creation of machinery to enable such a policy to be implemented in the areas of teacher training and the placement of teachers in schools, and of curricula development. In the area of teacher training there was a need for the methodological training of teachers to teach Asian languages, the need for refresher courses so that existing teachers could maintain their effectiveness, and for financial provision to enable teachers to spend time in-country. It noted that there was also need for a greater degree of planning in the placement of teachers. Schools were reluctant to introduce language courses unless there was some guarantee that vacancies in this area could be filled and were understandably not keen to introduce courses in Asian languages if classes were likely to be small. There was reason for State departments of education to encourage the study of Asian languages and even to provide 'special financial assistance' to encourage schools to introduce one of the major Asian languages. Curricular development was central to any initiative to encourage the study of Asian languages and related cultures. Departments of education throughout the country, therefore, needed to see to it that appropriate curricula and textbooks and other resources for language study were developed. Beyond these recommendations the report supported the recommendations made by the earlier 1980 Fitzgerald report. It emphasised in particular that the new Council of the Association continue negotiations with the government to establish an Asian

Studies Council as a Commonwealth Government instrumentality (Legge 1984:75-6).

Compared with the decade in which the study of Indonesian/Malay had first been introduced into Australian higher education, when general scholarly interest concerned with this region of the world had been largely *focused* on contemporary affairs with interest in government policy, international relations, economic development and political institutions and their history, by the 1970s important shifts of interest had taken place. There had grown a deepening interest in the longer-term history of Indonesia and Malaysia and in the nature of 'classical societies, of state and statecraft, ruler and realm and the character of traditional authority' in the societies of these two nations (Legge 1990:100). Accompanying the interest in the longer term history of these countries was a shift of focus to an indigenous perspective and theoretical and methodological consideration of how this shift of focus might take place. It came to be recognised that it was not possible to understand even the recent events in the societies of Indonesia and Malaysia by the simple application of analytical categories which had been derived from European and North American experience. Rather the task was to interpret the cultures, history and societies of these nations from the perspective of 'fundamental (indigenous) cultural positions' (Legge 1990:99). Not surprisingly, as elsewhere in the world, various schools of structuralist and post-modern theory and methodology informed much of the search for a better understanding amongst scholars in the field working in Australia (Legge 1990:100-2).

4.4 Teaching methodology and coursebooks

As we have seen, the teachers of Indonesian/Malay language had begun to respond positively to the need for new teaching materials in the second half of the 1960s. This response continued into the 1970s, but with an important shift in the methodological basis of courses. The audio-lingual method now provided the methodological framework within which the learning of Indonesian/Malay was to take place.

The traditional grammar-translation method had had certain advantages. There was a sense of direction, order and coherence for learner and teacher. There was a graded, known sequence, from simple to complex. Standard texts could be used, and standard, fairly easily-markable tests could be devised. The rules that were learned probably stuck in the memory. However, the disadvantages were great. There was too much emphasis on writing. Students could pass a course successfully, but be struck dumb if asked to speak. The language taught was usually bookish and overly formal, a long way away from normal speech. The sentences to be translated were often unlike anything the student might really want to say. There was far too much emphasis on single sentences, out of context, and real conversations were rare. There was too much emphasis on the system of the language's form and its grammar, and almost no emphasis on the techniques that people actually use to communicate.

The very great advantage of the new audio-lingual method was that it shifted the focus to speaking and listening, away from reading and writing. This was a fundamental re-orientation in classroom practice. There was much more emphasis on dialogues and conversations; sentences and phrases were learned in more realistic formats. A particular advantage was the use of native speaker tapes as models for imitation.

When *Lantjar Berbahasa Indonesia* was published in 1968, it claimed to be unique. Its uniqueness was based on its methodology as 'the first textbook on Bahasa Indonesia completely geared to the aural-oral method of learning'. The sense of a startling and dramatic change was signalled by the first sentence of its account of the development of the new methodology:

Ever since the French Revolution in 1789 set the pattern for violent and radical reform of social evils, modern man has come to the realisation that, if he did not like his particular world, he was at liberty to change it.

And the text was indeed different from those of the previous methodology. It came in two versions, a student's book and a 'teacher's edition', this latter containing a 50-page exposition of the evolution of the methodology and its presentation in the classroom. The introduction sketched in a historical overview of language teaching since the Renaissance, discussing the German scholar Wilhelm Viëtor's attack on grammar-translation in 1882, the direct methods of early twentieth century European language teaching and other innovations up to the 1930s. The authors emphasised the changes brought about by the pressing needs of World War II, which demonstrated 'the total inadequacy of the grammar-vocabulary translation approach, and the relative failure of the direct method approach'. Instead,

If language is to serve as a means of communication, it was at last realised it must be learnt for that purpose — ie, not in isolated sentences inapplicable to a given situation, but in dialogue form, since dialogue is conversation, and conversation the mode of communication.

Linguists, therefore, insisted on the imitation and memorisation of basic conversational sentences as spoken by native speakers. They also provided the descriptions of the distinctive elements of intonation, pronunciation, morphology and syntax that constituted the structure of the language which gradually emerged as one mastered the basic sentences and variations. And so it came about that the idea of pattern practices was developed, the idea which dominates the audio-lingual approach of our present day teaching situation, and on which this textbook, *Lantjar Berbahasa Indonesia*, is primarily based. Pattern practices aim to establish speech habits by presenting meaningful units in context rather than concentrating on individual sentences so often taught out of context and unrelated to normal speech behaviour (Teachers edition, pp. 8-9).

The final sentence of this quotation catches the key elements: pattern practices, speech habits, meaningful units in context. Chapters, or 'units', of the book had

thematic and situational titles, for example: 'An Outing', 'An Accident', 'Entertainment', 'Going Shopping'. The nucleus of each unit, 'the essence of the entire course', lay in the 20 'dialogue sentences' presented at the start of each unit. These were followed by question-and-answer practice, pattern practices extensively using substitutions, and conversations extending the 20 patterns.

A detailed and elaborate procedure for classroom presentation of each section was prescribed. Some sense of it can be gained from the following:

Then model the sequence four or five times from different positions in the classroom while students turn their books face down so that they may concentrate solely on your voice. Do not allow them to follow you with their eyes around the classroom.

After the model, return to the front of the class and ask students to repeat the sentence after you have said it once more. Insist first on complete choral response. This encourages the shy students to submerge with the rest until their confidence increases. Immediately correct any mispronunciations you hear, but do not single out any particular offenders at this stage. Gradually reduce the response to half the class, a quarter, then down to individuals.

As soon as you realise that students have difficulty in reproducing a complete sentence without hesitation or fumbling, introduce backward drill (pp. 46-7).

Further detailed procedures covered the use of supplementary visual aids such as slides and flashcards, and the use of tapes in the classroom and the language laboratory. This was the golden age of the language laboratory and, while not essential for the presentation of this course, it ideally suited this methodology's emphasis on listening and speaking rather than reading and writing, and on the repetition of dialogue sentences until acquired as habits. Former students at Sydney Technical College (now Sydney Institute of Technology), where the three authors taught, still recall the zeal with which the methodology was followed.

Elements of this methodology had already been evident in Purwanto Danusugondo's text of 1966, *Bahasa Indonesia for Beginners*. There was the explicit rejection of translation, the emphasis on 'productive patterns' or model sentences, and the statement that

a language is basically a set of sounds which is mostly patterned and agreed upon through common usage by the community which uses it.

However, Purwanto's course only moved part of the way towards the audio-lingual method. Purwanto's chapters were still organised on grammatical lines, and the bulk of each chapter was an English discussion of the core patterns, explained as statement, question and negative form. Contrastive analysis, often a feature of audio-lingual teaching, was used in the discussions, and in the final section of chapters, 'Common mistakes and notes'. However, although students were urged to 'always do the exercises orally before you write them down', the exercises consisted mainly of transformation of individual sentences, the stimulus

being given in written form. There was no elaborate taped material or detailed oral procedure as in *Lantjar Berbahasa Indonesia*.

Indeed, *Lantjar Berbahasa Indonesia* stands as a high point of audio-lingual orthodoxy. The text books that appeared soon after also came with the apparatus of tapes and cassettes, and an emphasis on speaking and listening in the classroom, but none had so rigorous an adherence to the classic form of the audio-lingual method as it had been developed in the United States.

Between 1969 and 1974 the main coursebooks for high schools appeared, with a major publication appearing in each of the eastern States, each developing a regional following, a following that continues, if with diminished vigour, until today. These three major coursebooks are: Hendrata in Victoria, McGarry and Soemarjono in NSW, and Partoredjo in Queensland. These texts dominated school teaching during the 1970s and 1980s. They were and still are used in some tertiary and adult courses as well. The 1986 edition of McGarry and Soemarjono's Book Two was able to announce that 'the *Learn Indonesian* series has now sold some 75,000 copies in 23 countries'.

The Hendrata series, *An Audio-Lingual Course in Bahasa Indonesia*, Parts 1A, 1B and 2, is typical of the new packages, containing sets of tapes and visual aids to accompany the books. The core format is presentation of new material through situational dialogues (eg, 'shopping in the market'), which are to be memorised. Hendrata claims that use of the dialogues will provide Indonesian for immediate practical application in everyday life, provide some cultural and geographical background, and present a light-hearted tone. The books are well provided with line drawings and photographs, some of them carefully matched to vocabulary teaching, with numbers in the pictures corresponding to vocabulary items to be learned. The glossary is supposed to be used only as a last resort. Grammatical explanations are kept brief and simple.

A typical chapter format is:

1. dialogue and/or reading passage, followed by true/false and comprehension questions;
2. up to a dozen or so exercises, including variants of:
 - a. transformation of statements into questions and negatives;
 - b. pattern drills;
 - c. unfinished sentences to complete;
 - d. blanks to be filled with the most appropriate word;
 - e. the writing of a dialogue based on the model.

Some exercises used an implicit contrastive analysis with English, being framed to overcome typical errors made by native speakers of English.

Although the expression 'audio-lingual' appears in the book's title, the contents themselves suggested a more relaxed approach to this orthodoxy. Some chapters in Part 1A are organised around themes (eg, No. 9: 'Directions; the compass; the city and its buildings'), others are grammatical (eg, No. 7: 'Sentences with *ada*, *Buku ini ada di meja*; positional words'), while others again had a little of each (eg, No. 6: 'Personal and possessive pronouns; vehicles'). By the third volume

(Part 2), each chapter is organised around a grammatical point. This seems to illustrate a feature common in Indonesian coursebooks in Australia. Though they subscribe to the dominant methodology, that methodology is usually tempered and modified by the writer's sense of what techniques would go well in the classroom.

McGarry and Soemarjono's *Learn Indonesian*, Books One, Two and Three, were produced during the years between 1970 and 1974. The most striking feature of Books One and Two is the extensive use of pictures down the side of the text to illustrate the structures built into questions and answers. The intention is that grammar and vocabulary will become self-explanatory. Along with this goes a detailed technique for their exploitation: covering and uncovering the text, listening, and repeating in whole-class chorus, by groups and individuals.

Book One provides five pages of suggestions for teachers. The polite word 'suggestions', rather than 'instructions', catches the tone of the books nicely, in that the writers are firm about their own methodology, but tolerant of the range of teaching practices. This was clear from the comment:

No formal translation exercises have been included in the book, as the authors have no confidence in the translation approach as a general teaching technique, and consider that most of the time spent on translation would be better employed in direct use and manipulation of the foreign language. Some teachers may, however, prefer to translate the passages first, as a check on comprehension (p. xiii).

Much else is also explicitly 'left to the judgement of the individual teacher'.

This course also comes accompanied by records and tapes. The texts are lavishly provided with line drawings and photographs, as well as a number of songs and games. Chapters are still organised around grammatical points, with brief grammatical explanations following the extended exploitation of pictures. These initial activities are supplemented by an extensive range of activities: conversation, reading passage with comprehension questions, and exercises of at least seven types: substitution, transformation, fill-in, complete, matching, true/false, and scrambled sentences. These, once again, do not carefully follow a methodological orthodoxy, but provide a welcome variety of activities for teachers to use in the classroom. Book Two also contains 34 reading passages on cultural topics, specially written and carefully graded.

The companion text, *Indonesian Guided Compositions* (1971), also uses sets of pictures, of usually four to six drawings, to enable students to produce sequences of prose. Extra clues are provided beside the pictures, in the form of questions to be answered, or word banks from which to choose.

Book Three (1974) strikes out in new directions, abandoning the 'strip sketches' that had made the previous books distinctive, but believed to be of limited use at an advanced level. Instead, the chapters introduce Tom Johnson, of the Australia Dairy Company, on his way to Jakarta to work with the Susindo milk company in Jakarta. Over the five large chapters, Tom travels to Jakarta, arrives, gets to know the neighbours, travels to the regions, and meets business people in

Surabaya. Another departure, in this case very forward-looking in methodological terms, was the extensive use of real-life material from magazines and newspapers, including cartoons, anecdotes, advertisements, jokes and articles.

I. S. Partoredjo produced *Bahasa Indonesian Modern, Book One*, in 1972. As its subtitle, 'an integrated method', suggests, it is the least committed to audio-lingual orthodoxy, although it looks similar to the Hendrata and the McGarry and Soemarjono coursebooks, with its extensive use of pictures, its accompanying set of cassettes, and its 'suggested approach', which emphasised the teacher's voice as the model, and procedures with covered/uncovered text and reference to the pictures illustrating the structures. However, translation, from and into English, was a regular feature of the exercises section.

The use of situational pictures, begun with Hendrata and much more developed by McGarry and Soemarjono, receives its fullest exploitation in the Partoredjo text, with some 16 complex pictures being used to present the basic sentences, and then with up to two dozen further pictures as stimuli for practice. The organisation of chapters is around grammatical points, but these are demonstrated through the basic sentences/pictures, followed by explanations that were more extensive than in Hendrata, and McGarry and Soemarjono, but still brief when compared to the grammar-translation texts of five years earlier. Further sequences of exercises included translation, transformation, questions to be answered, and increasingly extensive conversations. The introduction to the text did not make an extended statement of just what was integrated with what, but the organisation of the text itself suggests an eclectic drawing on what the grammar-translation and audio-lingual methods had to offer, based on teaching experience and the guiding principle of 'what went well in the classroom'.

Four Indonesian readers were published in this period: Sarumpaet and Hendrata's *A Modern Reader in Bahasa Indonesia* (1968), Yohanni Johns' *Melawat ke Negara Tetangga* (1969), Suwito Santoso and Soemarjono's *Dari Barat Sampai Timur* (1969), and J. A. Collins' *Di Kampung* (1973). The first three were written by the authors for their Australian audience; the fourth gave Australians access to the stories of Mohammed Sjafai, originally published in Indonesia in 1961, and used as a core reader in Indonesian primary schools. All tend to be highly didactic, instructing their readers in Indonesian cultural matters while practising the skill of reading.

The Sarumpaet and Hendrata reader contains 65 'stories', a few of them conversations, moving from home and daily life to more directly instructional passages on aspects of culture. Both the readers *Dari Barat Sampai Timur* and *Melawat ke Negara Tetangga* use the idea of Australians visiting Indonesia to give a unifying theme to their contents. The former text follows Allan Southern from arrival, through Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta and Surakarta in 40 conversations. While some of the conversations reflect events and transactions that might happen, much of the material was in the form of rather solid chunks of cultural information. The latter text has a young Australian couple, Jack the journalist on a six-month assignment in Indonesia with his school-teacher wife, Maureen. Maureen has the leading role. The reading passages concerning the stages of their life in Indonesia are 'designed to introduce students to some of the principal contours of Indonesian life', and 'the quality of its collective

personality'. The Collins reader is authentic, in that the contents are from a real reader, written for Indonesians by an Indonesian writer, but no less didactic, wishing to instruct readers about 'everyday life in a typical Indonesian village'.

Two aspects of the readers stand out. First, they are built on the assumption that the main task of Australians is to learn about Indonesia rather than to talk about Australia. Second, the readers show the continuing strength of the language/history/literature nexus. Just as Emmanuels' Radio University course of 1966 had ended with material on the history of the 'Indonesian language' and 'Indonesian literature', so the last five passages in Sarumpaet and Hendrata are on Indonesian literature, and the Johns reader works Kartini into Maureen's life and ends on the history of the language. The Collins reader is itself a literary work. A similar orientation is evident in the McGarry and Soemarjono Book Three: when Tom Johnson meets business colleagues in Surabaya, they do not discuss business but rather the history of Majapahit.

In several ways 1972 was an important year. The publication of texts was well under way. Large numbers of high school students presented themselves for final examinations in Indonesian/Malay. In Indonesia and Malaysia, *Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan*, the new common spelling system, had been announced. And in Australia, the ABC Radio ran two radio series of *Learn Indonesian*, selling some 10,000 booklets and records to accompany the radio programs. Now, 20 years later, it would be hard to imagine the ABC running such a program, or that 10,000 Australians would buy their booklets and participate.

The radio series was apparently an initiative of Prime Minister Gorton, following enthusiasm for a cultural agreement signed with Indonesia. The immediate responsibility for the program was that of Liz Kirby, then a television star and radio executive. The text chosen was *Lantjar Berbahasa Indonesia*, by Ichsan, Baker and Lane, the only one of the new texts slanted to adult learners. This program marked the highest and virtual end point for *Lantjar Berbahasa Indonesia*, as it was one of the texts that failed to get over the hurdle of the new spelling. All of the courses published since 1965 had to face the issue of whether demand was strong enough for a new issue with revised spelling. The school books survived easily, with their own established regional markets. Some others came out in new-spelling editions, including the newer two-book format of Purwanto Danusondo's 1966 coursebook and core reference works such as Sarumpaet's *The Structure of Bahasa Indonesia*. However, *Lantjar Berbahasa Indonesia*, the real pioneer only four years earlier, did not make it into a new edition.

The period from 1974 to 1987 saw only some dozen publications in 14 years, compared to the 20 or so texts of the decade from 1965 to 1974. This was a period when the numbers of students of foreign languages were in decline across Australia, in high schools and universities. Only one major text was published in Australia, Yohanni Johns' *Langkah Baru, A New Approach* (1975). Otherwise the publication of six further readers from 1975 to 1980 was the only substantial contribution to the provision of teaching materials for Indonesian/Malay.

As we have noted, the mid 1970s were mostly preoccupied with the re-issue of earlier texts in new-spelling editions. One of the few new titles was *Essentials of Indonesian Grammar* (1976) by Chuan Siu Li (T. S. Lie), but this was essentially a

slightly updated version of his 1965 coursebook. It was still a grammar-translation text, but the exercise types had been broadened to include questions to be answered, fill-in-the-blanks and some transformation of sentences. The Philips company also produced a cassette set and booklet for tourists, *Bahasa Indonesia*, in the late 1970s.

Yohanni Johns' *Langkah Baru, A New Approach* was published in a large A4 version in 1975 by the Department of Indonesian Languages and Literatures of ANU, and in a smaller, more professional-looking format by ANU Press in 1977. Book Two appeared in 1981. The book was developed from language courses at the Australian National University taught over the previous decade and was intended for university students. Its brief preface does not explain just what was new about the 'new approach'. In several ways the book is heavily influenced by ideas from the audio-lingual approach: the presentation through sentence patterns, the extensive use of drills, the frequent use of conversations, and contrastive analysis in sections titled 'special notes' and 'remarks'. On the other hand, in some ways it resembles the older grammar-translation courses, with the relative infrequency of pictures compared to the school texts, the vocabulary list at the beginning of the chapters, the core organisation of chapters around grammar points, the initial presentation of structures in reading passages, and the use of translation of sentences as one of the exercises.

The most original aspect of this text is the presentation of sentence patterns through boxes or 'sentence frames', followed by the most extensive use of substitution and transformation drills of any Indonesian text published in Australia. This core organisation of chapters is further filled out with response drills, comprehension questions, combination drills, and an increasing number of 'fluency drills', involving the memorisation and dramatisation of dialogues. The text also contains a number of sets of cultural notes, ranging from broad topics such as 'city life' and activities such as bathing, chewing betel, pointing and beckoning, through to specific language forms such as greetings and leavetakings, forms of address and language specific aspects of personal pronouns. This text is therefore not so much new in terms of methodology, owing something to grammar-translation and more to audio-lingual methodologies, but it was the first new major coursebook aimed at an adult readership since 1968. And it was also the last. Apart from Book Two of *Langkah Baru*, no new coursebooks for adults have appeared since.

Four readers were published in the period 1968 to 1973. A further six followed between 1975 and 1980. These were: Ichsan's *Intermediate Indonesian* (1975), Collins' *Marilah Kita Membaca* (1976), Dakeyne's *Cerita Rakyat dan Dongeng* (1976), Collins' *Bunga Rampai* (1977), Achdiat K. Mihardja's *Sensasi di Puncak Nyiur* (1978), and J. Pello's *Lihat, Baca, Ceritakan* (1980).

J. A. Collins, Senior Master in Modern Languages at Trinity Grammar School, Melbourne, was highly productive in the mid 1970s. The reader *Di Kampung* of 1973 has been mentioned, and in 1975 he also produced *A Topical Indonesian Vocabulary for Essay Writing and Conversation Practice*. The two readers *Marilah Kita Membaca* (for beginners) and *Bunga Rampai* (for the advanced level) were intended to fill gaps in the range already available with *Di Kampung* and the new spelling version of Sarumpaet and Hendrata's *A Modern Reader in Bahasa Indonesia*, now in Parts 1 and 2.

With these readers, the continued strength of didactic elements and the use of folk-lore and literature are again evident. Several of the twelve stories in Ichsan's reader come from standard literary works. Others are comic incidents. Collins' *Marilah Kita Membaca* is drawn from an existing popular Indonesian reader, *Beladjar Membatja*, and ends with three stories from the *Kancil* (mouse-deer) canon. Marian Dakeyne's reader contains 30 folk-tales and legends, and she urges her audience not to 'use these stories merely as reading material', but to appreciate the 'moral and social teaching', and to gain 'insight into some of the values and standards of social and moral behaviour' in Indonesian society.

Bunga Rampai makes the quite startling departure of being based entirely upon the Indonesian press, with 48 rather serious articles drawn from dailies, weeklies and monthlies in the period between 1973 and 1976. The articles are divided into six categories:

1. Language, Culture, Literature, Education;
2. Filming and the Theatre;
3. Society;
4. Art;
5. The Economy and Population Problems;
6. Indonesia and Her Neighbours — Travel, Tourism, Regional Problems.

The last two sections take up more than half of the work, demonstrating the newer leaning towards current social issues. However, the very first reading in the book is on Indonesian literature, recalling an older orientation. Although the book is based on the Indonesian press, it is only the sober 'think-piece' side of the press which is drawn upon, with none of its advertisements, graphs, pictures, headlines and short news items.

Achdiat K. Mihadja's reader of 1978, *Sensasi di Puncak Nyiur*, provides twelve of the famous writer's short stories, adapted slightly with a glossary and comprehension questions for the advanced Australian student. J. Pello's 1980 reader, *Lihat, Baca, Ceritakan*, looks unusually attractive, with a lavish use of colour for each of its 30 passages. Passages are also followed by a range of activities. The use of colour prefigures the livelier texts of a decade later, but the contents continue an earlier practice of specially written rather than authentic material.

Very little happened in terms of new courses after the Johns text of 1975 and the readers of 1975 to 1980. The school texts, main readers and major reference works continued to be reprinted, but less frequently. J.P. Sarumpaet added a useful reference work, *Modern Usage in Bahasa Indonesia*, in 1980. This provided more detailed explanations of meaning and usage of particular words and phrases than in usual dictionaries. As we have mentioned, Yohanni Johns' *Bahasa Indonesia*, Book Two (1981), was intended for second-year university students. It looked more traditional than Book One (*Langkah Baru, A New Approach*), using the format of a core reading passage for each of its 16 chapters, with a range of grammatical explanations and exercises based on the passage.

Very little else was published. For tourists there was Lonely Planet's publication of *Indonesia Phrasebook*, by Margit Meinhold, in 1984. One small reader appeared in 1985, the bilingual *Tales of a Balinese Grandfather/Kakek Bali Bercerita*, by Adrian Clynes, through INT Press in Victoria. This collection of folk-tales was 'chosen for the insights they gave into Balinese culture'. A slim companion volume, *Bali Life and Legends*, appeared in 1987, providing 17 worksheets for activities on culture and language.

The audio-lingual method had a number of disadvantages which derived mainly from the underlying concept of language learning as habit formation. This usually meant that pattern after pattern was learned through drills, in class and in the language laboratory. It was never quite clear how all the single patterns and transformations learned in the language laboratory were to be combined into real speech. The student sitting in walled-off isolation in a language lab could hardly be further removed from normal human contact. Students often felt highly alienated. There was almost no mention in such texts of non-verbal communication. And there were none of the stops and starts, the risk-taking and the negotiation of meaning that occur in real-life speaking. It is also true that while teaching methods favoured speaking and listening, testing and assessment was still mostly done through writing.

In the case of other foreign languages, particularly European languages, this was a time when language methodology, driven by the changes in English as a Second Language and English as a Foreign Language (ESL and EFL), was developing rapidly, first with the concept of functional-notional teaching, from the end of the 1970s, and then with the concept of communicative competence, from the early 1980s. The early 1980s in Australia were then a time for lively new textbooks, such as *Archipel* and *Sans Frontières* for French, and *Themen* for German, and the dramatic and colourful high school Italian text *Avanti!* Language books were organised in new ways and looked different, with jazzy adult layouts, frequent use of colour, and extensive use of authentic material.

For Indonesian, however, this was a time of just surviving, of hoping numbers would fall no further, and of making the best in the classroom of the materials that teachers were used to, or could put together themselves. The lack of time and energy to be concerned with methodological issues is illustrated by the fact that in the first 25 years of the foreign language teachers journal *Babel* from 1965, only six articles were directly concerned with Indonesian/Malay.⁵¹

A new quarterly *Pelangi* was started in 1985 by the Darling Downs Institute in Toowoomba, now the University of Southern Queensland. Initial plans were for a newsletter for past students in the Diploma of Education course, but the university press wanted a more substantial publication. In its first years, it was not clear whether the volume was to be aimed at secondary or tertiary study, and its first editor, Junedi Ichsan, called for a lively discussion of methodological issues. This did not in fact take place, and *Pelangi* found, particularly after a market survey in 1988, that its main audience was classroom teachers, who much

51 These were: A. P. Crow, 'Introducing Indonesian' Vol. 3 (1965), No. 2:2-4; T. Stone, 'Darwin-Bali Exchange School Visit' Vol. 10 (1974), No. 3:23-4; L. Kelabora, 'Teachers of Bahasa Indonesia and their Qualifications' Vol. 12 (1976), No. 3:19-26; N. Redhead, 'Indonesian in High Schools in A.C.T.' Vol. 20 (1984), No. 3:23-7; L. A. Harbon, 'Distance teaching of Indonesian: a case study' Vol. 21 (1985), No. 2:12-4; I. Zifirdaus, 'Factors inhibiting the development of language study' Vol. 23 (1985) No. 2:15-8.

preferred materials that could be copied and used straightaway in class, rather than discussion of competing methodologies. *Pelangi* has now established itself with a clear secondary school market and a preference for materials rather than discussion. The magazine's successful search for a niche demonstrates both the beginning of a revival of energies from the mid 1980s and the general need or preference for classroom materials rather than discussion of the principles underlying those materials.

4.5 Conclusions

By the mid 1970s the pressures on the teaching of languages other than English were considerable, with enrolments in these subjects as a whole declining nationally. The change to the audio-lingual methodology was giving rise to tensions created by the lack of teachers experienced in the application of this methodology. Moreover examinations were set which conflicted with new syllabuses which had incorporated the goals of the new methodology, at least in New South Wales. Robinson believed that in New South Wales the continuing elite status attached to learning languages in schools also inhibited their potential appeal to the increasing numbers of students who were entering the upper secondary schools. There were also more confident demands from migrant groups and Aboriginal Australians that their languages be taught in schools and universities. The mid 1970s also ushered in a period of economic crises. This meant that the capacity of governments to provide additional funds for educational initiatives such as new languages courses was severely curtailed.

There was general sympathy for the value of language study and recognition of the broad relevance of a command of languages for Australia's domestic and international life. However the report of the Working Party of the Universities Commission showed a greater acceptance of the inevitability of low enrolments in language programs than had Wykes' and Auchmuty's earlier reports. The Working Party recommended measures to restrict the possibility of duplicating language courses in universities (and colleges of advanced education) in the same region in the interest of keeping costs within reasonable bounds.

The Working Party sought far greater flexibility in the manner in which resources were distributed throughout the tertiary sector to maintain the study of languages. It recommended greater co-operation between individual universities and colleges of advanced education in the same regions. It argued that universities should effect savings by cutting back on the resources allocated to departments which were not viable in terms of student enrolments. It also sought to overcome the consequences of 'rigid departmentalism' by supporting interdisciplinary and interdepartmental co-operation within universities. The Working Party believed that the academic value of such initiatives was important; it also believed that amalgamations of the teaching programs of a number of languages might lead to savings and to greater flexibility in the allocation of resources. It supported the greater use of programs of adult and continuing education for the same reason.

Beyond these recommendations, the Working Party supported only two new initiatives in the area of teaching languages other than English. In response to the new spirit of multiculturalism, it recommended that the study of the languages and cultures of several eastern European countries and Malta and Turkey deserved special consideration. It also argued strongly the case for the inclusion of overseas study in the programs of honours and postgraduate students of languages. Apart from these recommendations, it suggested a number of measures, many of which might be effected at minimum or very little cost. For example, it urged language departments to ensure that their courses were academically challenging and that their teaching was of high quality, employing intensive methods of instruction and technological aids. The Working Party wanted departments to be flexible in their patterns of teaching, advocating the use of short intensive courses in university vacations as a means of limiting the high level of contact hours required to teach languages during the academic year.

In the case of Asian languages, the Working Party believed that there were no special reasons to treat these languages any differently from others. Indeed they had a particular concern about Asian languages, which had not been widely taught in Australia and for which enrolments were not large. In this situation, the Working Party believed that new courses would inevitably duplicate existing ones and that this would result in a larger number of small and academically weak departments. In the case of Indonesian/Malay, in its survey of current proposals from universities to introduce the language, it supported only those where there was no existing provision for courses in the language in a State or region or where they were introduced to complement the offerings in other Asian languages at other universities in a region.

Robinson's interest in the situation of languages other than English in the schools of New South Wales was motivated by other issues. Fully in support of the democratising purpose of the Wyndham reforms in secondary education in New South Wales, Robinson contested what she believed to be the continuing influence of an elitist attitude to the teaching of languages. This attitude affected even languages such as Indonesian/Malay which were newly introduced into the secondary school curriculum. This put the study of languages other than English beyond the capacity of the wider range of adolescents who were continuing their education in the upper secondary schools in the State. She was quite opposed to the entrenched conservatism which, she discovered, stood in the way of the full implementation of the audio-lingual methodology which had been introduced into the syllabuses of some language subjects in the early 1970s. She believed that the new method held the key to opening up the study of languages to a much larger number of adolescents who were continuing their education to the level of the Higher School Certificate.

We have seen that between 1968 and 1975 teachers and academics responsible for teaching Indonesian/Malay responded with considerable enterprise to the need to create courses and publish textbooks within the framework of the new audio-lingual method. Five major coursebooks were published, each owing something to this methodology. These books have been widely used in Australian schools and universities. That of McGarry and Soemarjono had sold 75,000 copies in 23 countries by 1986. In addition to these major coursebooks several readers were also published.

In universities academics also responded energetically to new changes in theoretical and methodological direction. In the study of Indonesian and Malaysian culture, history and society, the focus shifted to an indigenous perspective. This brought with it a deepening interest in the longer term history of these countries and the deployment by some academics of the theoretical and methodological concepts of structuralism and post modern schools of thought. The theses of postgraduate students and the published work of academic staff contributed internationally to new understandings of the history and the contemporary societies of Indonesia and Malaysia.

The Auchmuty Report in 1970 and Robinson's survey of a small sample of parents of primary school pupils in New South Wales in 1975 recorded evidence of continued public enthusiasm for the study of Indonesian/Malay in Australian schools, colleges of advanced education and universities. This enthusiasm was also reflected in the increasing number of students enrolling in the subject and the continuing number of tertiary institutions providing or planning courses in the subject. As we have seen, in 1975 the language was the most studied language in colleges of advanced education, the third most studied language in universities and the fourth most studied in Australian schools. However the numbers of students taking courses in Indonesian/Malay in colleges of advanced education and universities had declined noticeably by 1981 and continued to do so until 1983. It was not until 1986 that this decline was arrested. The decline occurred despite the availability of courses in a larger number of tertiary institutions. The drop in numbers was particularly marked in those universities where the subject had been taught the longest. Enrolments in schools appear to have been maintained and may even have increased until 1983 when the numbers of Year 12 students taking the language began to decline. This decline appears in particular to have been associated with the presence of background speakers of the language in the candidature of the subject for the Higher School Certificate in New South Wales. The lessening interest in Indonesian/Malay noticeable in student enrolments was also reflected in public opinion polls in 1977 and 1978 in which the language was now ranked fourth and fifth in order of priority by respondents.

Beyond the particular situation in New South Wales schools, explanations of the declining interest in Indonesian/Malay are not easy to find. The decline in interest was, however, coincident with a significant change in Australian attitudes. During the 1970s, especially after the victory of the ALP at the Federal election in 1972, Australians began to work through a new myth of national identity. The new Australian nationalism was founded on the idea of a multicultural Australia which acknowledged that the cultures and languages of the various Australian ethnic communities were part of the shared heritage of all Australians and which insisted that all Australians of whatever cultural origins should enjoy the same social rights.

Multiculturalism meant multilingualism. The cumulative effect of a decade and a half of debate about an Australian identity in which the concept of multiculturalism played so important a role had, by the mid 1980s, broadened discussion of the place of languages in Australian society. Languages were no longer entirely thought of as something to be learned only in the classroom. Not only had the legitimacy of their use in the everyday life of Aboriginal and

migrant communities been established but their pragmatic value in the economic life of the country was being promoted and more widely understood in the community. The most impressive evidence of the impact of multiculturalism on the teaching of languages other than English was the rapid expansion in the number of languages available for study in Australian education. Compared with the 1960s, when French, Latin and German dominated the scene, by 1988 54 languages were available at the school level, and, by 1990, 37 were offered in institutions of higher education. The adoption of the National Policy on Languages in 1987 gave official recognition to the concept of a multilingual Australia, acknowledging that bilingual Australians were an important asset to the future of Australia. In this context, of course, the Indonesian community in Australia was a small one and did not attract as much attention in the discussion of multiculturalism as did the larger, more high profile migrant groups.

The goal of a multicultural Australia was coupled with a new, more independent stance of Australia internationally. Following the failure of the Vietnam War, the Australian Government began to distance itself from American foreign policy. Basing itself on an assumption of a multipolar world order, it placed more emphasis on Australia's relations with her Asian neighbours, finally abandoning the White Australia policy. The retention of power by the Suharto Government in Indonesia initially allayed fears of communist threat from Australia's nearest neighbour. In 1972 the Gorton Government had signed a cultural agreement with Indonesia. However, the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975 once again gave rise to an old antagonism toward Indonesia amongst many Australians. Public opinion polls of the 1980s consistently rated Indonesia amongst the first three nations which threatened Australia's security. Resistance to the notion of multiculturalism and opposition to Asian migration amongst some elements in the Australian population would seem also to imply that Indonesians attracted a degree of the same suspicion and antagonism.

Indonesia's reputation was also impaired by reports of political prisoners, politically inspired murders, corruption and poverty. The unimportance of the economic relationship between Australia and Indonesia contributed little that was positive to counter these negative attitudes. Although persistent, the level of antagonism amongst Australians towards Indonesia appears to have been less acute than it had been in the 1950s and 1960s at the high point of the Cold War. The significant proportion of Australians undecided about the appropriateness of Indonesian control of East Timor suggests this, and no doubt the end of the war in Vietnam had brought with it a sense of lessening threat to Australia from Southeast Asia. This sense of relative well-being was no doubt also enhanced by the growing popularity of Indonesia as a major destination for Australian tourists during the 1970s and 1980s.

After 1965 Australia's relationship with Indonesia improved significantly. With the end of Confrontation and the repression of the Indonesian Communist Party, Australian fears of Indonesia as the site of communist activity and threat diminished. Nevertheless, Australia remained anxious about Indonesian strategic ambitions into the late 1980s. The lower level of concern, combined with a preoccupation with a new Australian sense of identity and times of economic crisis would appear to account for an environment in which there was a lessening of interest in the study of Indonesia. Elitist attitudes towards teaching languages other than English in schools, and background speakers of

Indonesian/Malay in candidatures of students of the language in examinations at the end of Year 12, could only have further inhibited the teaching of the language. In higher education, the decreasing numbers of students studying the language in an increasing number of universities and colleges of advanced education held only the prospect of small, expensive and academically weak departments teaching Indonesian/Malay. As we have seen, the Asian Studies Association of Australia responded energetically to evidence of declining interest in the study of Asia in Australian education. The recommendations which came from the two inquiries undertaken by the Association addressed issues beyond education, underlining the need to change community attitudes towards the study of Asian countries. An important Commonwealth instrumentality to deal with this issue, and to initiate the educational developments which were required to encourage the study of Asia, was an Asian Studies Council.

5 BEGINNING AGAIN 1986-1992

5.1 Introduction

As we have noted, the Hawke Labor Government adopted the National Policy on Languages in May 1987. Following upon a decade and half of debate about the place of languages in a multicultural Australia, the policy formulated a broadly based rationale for the promotion of bilingualism in the Australian community. The policy proposed four justifications for this policy aim. First, there were important cultural and intellectual reasons for learning languages. The study of languages had long been considered to be culturally enriching and to contribute to intercultural understanding. It also encouraged higher levels of verbal intelligence, a greater capacity to think divergently and greater mental flexibility in individual students. Second, significant economic benefit would accrue to Australia from bilingual Australians who were engaged in business in non-English speaking countries, particularly in competitive situations requiring market penetration. There was a need to train both business personnel and interpreters and translators who possessed the linguistic skills and cultural knowledge to operate effectively in overseas markets. Third, closely related to the economic justification for bilingualism was consideration of Australia's role in the world. Here the National Policy emphasised Australia's position in the Asian-Pacific region. The region was one of the fastest growing economic zones in the world. However, the widespread teaching of the languages of this part of the world would not only enhance Australia's business opportunities. It was also calculated to promote the fullest participation of Australia in the affairs of the region and to assist the integration of the lives of individual Australians in the professional activities and cultures there. Fourth, there was a correlation between language and social inequalities. It was not only the blind and illiterate who were disadvantaged. The consequences of the denigration of Aboriginal Australians and immigrant communities were also to be considered. Such denigration affected negatively the self-esteem, family relationships and the value placed upon the ethnic identity of individuals. Promotion of the value of all languages, the Policy argued, was likely to create more positive esteem of individuals and communities which had been affected in this way (Lo Bianco 1987:44-62).

No doubt because the National Policy on Languages was a document of the Commonwealth Department of Education, it emphasised the educational ramifications of the policy. The Policy recommended that all children be expected to study a second language in the lower secondary school and that language should be a factor determining selection for entry into tertiary courses. Nine languages were nominated as languages to be widely taught in education for a combination of local and international reasons: Arabic, (Mandarin) Chinese, French, German, Greek, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese and Spanish. Provision was also to be made for teaching other languages as well. Some of the nine languages were considered to be under-represented in education and the Policy recommended that they needed special promotion. They included Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian/Malay and Spanish. Special attention also needed to be given to training language teachers if the educational goals of the policy were to be achieved (Lo Bianco 1987, *passim*; Clyne 1991:226-30).

During the public debate which preceded the adoption of the National Policy on Languages and in its aftermath, State and Territory governments also formulated language policies and strategies for their implementation. In general, these were policies about languages in education. In the formulation of their aims and accounts of the advantages of languages other than English, they were compatible with or derived from the National Policy on Languages. In the case of both Victoria and South Australia, language policies were in fact already in place in 1985. Following the adoption of the National Policy on Languages, both States issued documents outlining strategies for implementing their language policies. In other States, the formulation of policies and strategies for implementing them followed the National Policy on Languages. In general language study, maintaining the mother tongue or learning a second language was encouraged as part of a normal education for all school students at both primary and secondary levels. All States and Territories prioritised the languages of 'wider teaching' mentioned in the National Policy and in a number of cases added further languages to the list. In the case of Victoria, for example, Korean and Russian were added. In New South Wales, Korean, Russian and Vietnamese, and in Western Australia, Russian were included. In South Australia Arabic was deleted. Indonesian/Malay was nominated as a priority language in all States and Territories and in some it was picked out for special support as it had been in the National Policy on Languages. In New South Wales, for example, Indonesian/Malay, along with six other languages, was selected for a special measure of support to enable its more widespread introduction into schools in the long term. In South Australia Indonesian/Malay was also singled out as a language of regional geographical significance to Australia along with Chinese, Japanese and Spanish and was therefore to be promoted in primary and secondary school programs (Clyne 1991:234). In the Northern Territory the happy combination of proximity to Indonesia, increasing trade, cultural and economic links between the Northern Territory and Indonesia, and the presence of a significant Indonesian community created a situation in which Indonesian/Malay has enjoyed strong government support and become the major language other than English to be taught in Northern Territory schools. In the case of Queensland, when addressing the balance between Chinese, Indonesian and Japanese, the three prioritised Asian languages in that State, the Minister of Education made special note of the need to improve community understanding of the importance of Chinese and Indonesian and to increase the number of students studying these two languages in Queensland schools (Languages other than English — A Statement from the Minister 1991).

This newly created policy environment appears to have been positive. For example, teachers of Indonesian/Malay who responded to the survey of school teachers conducted by the present project were enthusiastic about these developments which they considered had made it possible once again to promote the study of languages other than English.⁵² Furthermore, a survey of

52 A national survey of teachers was carried out by the Indonesian/Malay Profile project. While it has not been possible through lack of time to provide a complete report on the survey, responses to some questions have been analysed and incorporated in this chapter where specific issues are discussed. There were 215 respondents to the questionnaire sent to teachers. The comment to which this footnote is attached was based on responses to Question 32 which was open-ended and asked respondents to list in order of priority five points which in the teacher's perception had either encouraged the study of Indonesian in the teacher's school or had inhibited its study.

departments responsible for teaching Indonesian/Malay in institutions of higher education also indicated that many heads of department believed that the new policies had been a factor positively promoting the study of the language. Moreover many had acted upon particular aspects of the policies in planning and teaching courses.⁵³ However, some respondents to the latter survey indicated that they believed that departments of education in some States and senior administrators in some institutions had been less than wholehearted in their support of the study of Indonesian/Malay and this had inhibited the growth of its study in particular States and institutions.

In 1991 the Commonwealth Government published *Australia's Language* which contained a number of strategies to promote the study of languages other than English in Australian schools. Among these strategies it announced the Priority Languages Incentive Scheme, which required each State and Territory government to select up to eight languages from a list of 14 which were to attract \$300 per Year 12 student each year (*Australia's Language* 1991 I:16-17; II:86). The list included Indonesian/Malay. Under this scheme, Indonesian/Malay has been listed by all States and Territories with the single exception of New South Wales. In this State the selection of the eight languages was based solely on the number of candidates in particular languages sitting for the Higher School Certificate in 1991. This was done to ensure that maximum financial benefit under the scheme came to the State. Indonesian/Malay was judged the ninth language in order of priority. According to a Ministry of Education spokesperson, the languages designated under this scheme are to be annually reviewed on the basis of the Higher School Certificate numbers of the preceding year. Moreover, it was also pointed out that the funding accumulated under this scheme was not tied to the eight languages nominated, but was to be allocated to the different schooling systems where it could be used to promote language studies in general. Be this as it may, it seems likely that the nomination of the eight languages will have the effect it was designed to have, that is to prioritise in each State the study of eight nominated languages. Should this in fact be the case, then the stated designation of Indonesian/Malay for special support in New South Wales may well be eroded by the State's failure to nominate it under the Priority Languages Incentive Scheme. It should be noted that the special position of Indonesian/Malay in relation to measures to encourage its more widespread teaching has been recently reconfirmed in discussion of the New South Wales Government's Teacher Education Action Plan.⁵⁴ In this situation, it will be important to monitor closely both the effects of the failure to nominate Indonesian/Malay as one of the eight designated languages in New South Wales under the Priority Incentive Scheme and the measures adopted by the different schooling systems to encourage the wider teaching of Indonesian/Malay in schools.

53 A survey of all departments teaching Indonesian/Malay in universities was carried out by the Indonesian/Malay Profile project. While it has not been possible through lack of time to provide a complete report on the survey, responses to some questions have been analysed and incorporated in this chapter where specific issues are discussed. A questionnaire containing a number of open ended questions was sent to the heads of 22 departments. The comment to which this footnote is attached was based on responses to a question concerning the rationale of Indonesian/Malay courses and a second question which asked respondents to list in order of priority five points which, in their opinion, had either promoted or inhibited the study of Indonesian/Malay. Fourteen of the 21 departments surveyed answered the first of these questions and 15 the second.

54 K. J. Ellis, 'Languages other than English Planning Forum' (1992). Paper tabled at Meeting of Heads of Language Departments, University of Sydney, to discuss the supply and demand of teachers of languages other than English.

Two important reports concerned with the study of languages other than English in higher education and relevant to the situation of Indonesian/Malay in Australian education were written at this time. The first of the reports, Ingleson's *Asia in Australian Higher Education*, was prepared in 1989 for the Asian Studies Council. The report reviewed the current situation of the study of Asia in higher education and made recommendations concerning the changes necessary to meet Australia's requirements in this area of education into the next century. Ingleson's agenda was in large measure set by the Asian Studies Council's National Strategy published in 1988, itself premised on the findings of two earlier reports of the Asian Studies Association of Australia of 1980 and 1984 (see Chapter 4). Ingleson's report emphasised the needs of industry as well as the role of higher education's in creating an 'Asia literate' society in Australia. While the report concerned itself broadly with all aspects of the study of Asia, it also addressed the area of the study of Asian languages. Special consideration was given to Asian languages of economic and strategic importance (defined by the Asian Studies Council as (Mandarin) Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian/Malay as well as Thai, Korean and Vietnamese) and to their integration with the study of other disciplines, in particular with those relevant to the development of professional skills in areas such as business studies, law, economics, technological research, accountancy and the natural sciences. The report also addressed a range of more general issues related to the study of languages. These included the required balance between the different language skills, teaching methodology and assessment, the mode of provision of language instruction, the practicality of reintroducing a compulsory language requirement for entrance to certain faculties in higher education, the establishment of a national language institute, and ways of training Australians with an Asian background to take advantage of their language and cultural skills (Ingleson 1989 1:8-10).

The second report was that of Leal *et al.*, *Widening Our Horizons*, published in 1991. Leal *et al.* were to report to the Minister of Employment, Education and Training on the teaching of all modern languages in higher education, but they did not set out to duplicate the work of the earlier Ingleson inquiry. The report was to produce a co-ordinated plan for 'efficient, effective and high quality teaching in the higher education sector' and to identify 'the balance and range of language programs required' to achieve these goals. Leal *et al.* understood their task to be one 'restricted to an analytical survey of the teaching of language itself' and so did not regard the teaching of 'literature and other aspects of culture mediated by language' as central to their task, treating them 'only to the extent that they provided a useful context for establishing the place of language teaching in academic programs' (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:xxiv). In this respect at least the report was more narrowly conceived than Ingleson's.

There were other important similarities between the two reports. Written at the end of the 1980s, both recognised that the majority of Australians were generally unconvinced of the value of the study of languages other than English. There was, according to Leal *et al.*, still considerable ambivalence on the part of many Australians toward the study of these languages (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:53, 122-3). They argued therefore that there was a fundamental need to address broader intellectual and cultural issues apart from the social, welfare, service delivery, trade, tourist, political, scientific and technological issues which were included in their inquiry's terms of reference. In doing so the authors of the report

recognised how important it was that a cultural re-orientation of Australian society take place if 'the brash monoculturalism and persistent monolingualism that have characterised influential sections of the community and permeated the country's education systems' were to be replaced 'by an intellectual and cultural openness' to other cultures and ways of doing things. In this connection, the report noted that 'the wealth of a society consist[ed] in non-economic as well as economic terms, and that some activities that [were] themselves not wealth-creating contribut[ed] to the wealth-creating capacity of a society'. Importantly, the report recognised that the achievement of the needed cultural re-orientation was 'particularly but not exclusively' a matter for the education sector (Leal *et al.* 1991:1-2).

Ingleson identified a strong Euro-centrism which reflected the ethnic origins of Australia's population. This was evident in school curricula and syllabuses and, according to Ingleson, 'Humanities, Social Science, Education and Law Faculties' were all 'still predominantly Euro-centric' and so had failed to address adequately the realities of Australia's place in the world at the end of the twentieth century. He reminded us that this was a time when Australia was 'linked through trade, migration, investment and tourism to Asia' in a manner which was, according to him, 'profoundly different from any other western country' (Ingleson 1989 1:13). Both reports, therefore, shared the same preoccupation with the need to enhance the level of cultural sensitivity in Australia's social, intellectual, political and economic relationships with other nations and the enhancement of cultural sensitivity and linguistic tolerance in Australia's multicultural society. Both reports also shared the conviction that the study of languages and cultures ought to be a normal part of the educational experience of all Australians and not just the preserve of special groups of the intellectually elite, those with ethnic backgrounds or those with personal interest in the study of languages. Ingleson believed that even those students who did not possess any particular facility for language learning would benefit from the study of a language. Provided, of course, that a language was well taught, he claimed that 'learning another language should increase sensitivity to another culture — values, ideas, thought processes and accepted codes of conduct — and help in self-critical reflection on our own culture' (Ingleson 1989 1:227). Both reports underscored the need to establish an efficient national system for evaluating linguistic proficiency and ways of enhancing the status and financial rewards attached to it in employment in government and in the private sector.

Leal *et al.*, however, were not restricted by the requirement that they address educational needs in the area of Asian languages and related studies alone. They tended, therefore, to emphasise not just those languages which were of strategic and economic importance but also all those which were socially and intellectually valuable to the Australian community. They were in fact quite insistent that a wide range of languages should be available in Australian higher education. They noted that this emphasis ran counter to a tendency amongst some educational administrators, particularly at the secondary level, who were intent on phasing out the study of important European languages in order to introduce Asian languages, especially Japanese. They also addressed a range of more general issues related to the study of languages similar to those which Ingleson was to discuss.

Following the adoption of the National Policy on Languages in 1987, an important shift in the thinking of the Commonwealth Government on education was signalled. New emphasis was placed on the link between education and Australia's economic development. This was symbolised in the amalgamation of the education portfolio with others in the new Department of Employment, Education and Training, an amalgamation no doubt driven by the same interest in improving Australia's economic performance that resulted in the combining of the Departments of Foreign Affairs and Trade in 1987. We have seen above that one of the principal goals which the Asian Studies Association of Australia had set itself was the creation of an Asian Studies Council. The Council was established by the Commonwealth Government in 1986. Together with business interests keen to take advantage of the burgeoning economies of the Asian-Pacific Rim, the Council lobbied the Commonwealth Government to expand and improve the teaching of Asian languages and cultures, which had been largely neglected in the previous decade of debate about multiculturalism. In 1988 the Council published its *National Strategy for the Study of Asia in Australia*.

In its rationale for the widespread teaching of Asian languages and cultures in Australian education, the *National Strategy* recognised the ramifications of important historical shifts which had taken place in our foreign policy and strategic concerns in relation to Northeast and Southeast Asia. It also recognised the consequences of increased migration flows from Asian countries, and spelt these out in some detail (*National Strategy* 1988:6, 8-13). Particular emphasis was given in the document to the place of Asian countries in relation to Australia's economic future. 'Asia is central to our trade, our foreign relations and our future', it claimed. The study of Asia should no longer be regarded as 'an exotic option' in Australian education because 'the structural transformation of our economy and the force for economic change in Asia presented a challenge which we cannot meet successfully without Asia-related skills' (*National Strategy* 1988:2-3). It was this economic aspect of the case for the wider study of Asian languages and cultures which appears to have caught the public imagination, and for this reason we need to understand something of the economic background of the case.

5.2 The Australian relationship with Indonesia 1985-1992

5.2.1 The Australian economy and the economic relationship with Indonesia

Thirty years of economic boom came to an end in the early 1970s. Since then, the Australian economy has displayed considerable volatility. Gross National Product has undergone marked periods of good and bad growth, and unemployment, which has risen over the period since 1974, has also fluctuated from time to time. It has been argued that the volatility displayed by the Australian economy has been largely caused by the nature of our trading relations with other countries. Australia has traditionally been dependent for its high standard of living on the export of rural and mineral commodities. The markets into which these products are sold are subject to market fluctuations in price,

exacerbated by agricultural protectionism in Europe, Japan, Korea, Taiwan and the USA and the practice of some competitors of providing subsidies for mineral exports. While rural and mining industries in Australia have become much more efficient, the effects of income variations earned by these products have been transmitted throughout the economy with the result that it has been subject to considerable instability because of the terms of trade (INDECS 1992:6-7; Hughes 1988:190).

In the period between 1985 and 1992, this situation persisted. Above we have seen that in the first years of the Hawke Labor Government there had been a rapid recovery from the economic recession of 1982. In early 1985, however, Australia's foreign indebtedness increased significantly. Between November 1984 and April 1985 there was a 25% drop in the value of the Australian dollar, reflecting a nervousness on foreign exchange markets which had been triggered by the country's level of foreign debt. Between June 1985 and the end of the 1986 Australia's terms of trade declined by about 10%, expanding the level of foreign debt. The government responded to this situation by restraining wages, tightening monetary and fiscal policies, and keeping budget outlays constant. These measures enabled the government to reduce the budget deficit by \$2 billion and to slow the economy moderately. Despite the slowdown in economic activity, unemployment increased only slightly, from 7.6% in June 1986 to 8.5% in March 1986.

The years 1987-89 saw a period of economic boom. There was a 25% improvement in Australia's terms of trade as a result of a substantial improvement in economic activity throughout the world. Following the 40% drop in share prices in 1987, most governments in the Western world had used monetary policy to prevent major recession and subsequently provided a strong stimulus to economic activity. Imports into Australia blew out, rising by some 23.5% in one year, and the price of commercial and residential property increased rapidly. To deal with the situation, the government with large budget surpluses rejected fiscal measures as a means of slowing the economy. Such a measure would have resulted in still higher budget surpluses. Instead it turned to a restrictive monetary policy to slow the economy. Interest rates were increased to limit spending. The effect of this policy, as it turned out, was much more severe than had been calculated and a recession followed which was even more severe than that in the period 1982-3. The fall in aggregate demand and in Gross Domestic Product was greater than it had been in the recession in the early 1980s and the numbers of unemployed increased to 11.1% in June 1992. There were widespread bankruptcies, which affected others besides large entrepreneurs like Bond and Skase, and these had deleterious effects on consumer and business confidence. It was not until early 1992 that the government adopted expansionary fiscal policies to rectify this situation (Grattan and Gruen 1993:101-8).

While the Australian economy was experiencing these difficulties, the Indonesian economy had been growing strongly since 1970. When Suharto came to power in the wake of the coup of 1965, Indonesia had an inflation rate of over 600%, a national debt of more than US\$2 billion and a negative rate of growth (Vatikiotis 1993:33). Between 1968 and 1983, however, Gross Domestic Product grew at an average rate of 7.3% per year and, following a drop in the mid 1980s to a level of 3% growth in GDP, it has recently returned once again to a level of above 6% (*Indonesia Source Book* 1990/91:26-27).

Above we noted that Australia's trade with and investment in Indonesia in the 1970s and 1980s were small. Throughout this period Australian exports to Indonesia accounted for only about 2% of total Indonesian imports, and Indonesian exports to Australia for just 2% of Australia's total imports. Despite the low levels of trade and investment flowing between the two countries, however, intensity of trade and investment indices indicate a level of trade and investment greater than might have been expected on the basis of each country's involvement in international trade and overseas investment.

Analysis of bilateral trade between Australia and Indonesia requires consideration both of the extent to which each country's pattern of exports is complementary with the other's import pattern and the extent to which each country's exports enjoy access to the other's import market for historical or geographical reasons. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, complementarity in the trading relationship between the two countries has been at a level which reflected the fact that both countries were exporters of minerals and agricultural products. The increase in the complementarity between 1970 and 1986, visible in particular in the rise in Australian exports to Indonesia, is related to the expanded industrial development of the two countries. As the Indonesian economy has developed, export manufacturing industries have strengthened and Indonesian manufacturers have required the importation of larger volumes of intermediate products and raw materials. However, despite a general increase in the level of Indonesian manufactured exports, not much of this increased output has found its way onto the Australian market. It has gone instead to the United States and the EEC where markets were guaranteed by specific quotas. The close proximity of the two countries has accounted historically for each country's access to the other's market. The levels of country bias in the trading relationship between the two countries, however, declined between 1970 and 1986. This trend reflected the lessening importance of geographical proximity, the repercussions of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor and its subsequent coverage in the Australian press, and the increased integration of the Indonesian economy with the economies of Japan and other countries in Southeast and Northeast Asia. Hill has argued that expansion in bilateral trade between Australia and Indonesia in the future is unlikely to increase either because of proximity alone or because of the share which each country has in total world trade. Improved complementarity in trade between the two countries, encouraged by continued unilateral deregulation of the trading environment of each country, alone, he augured, will make it possible for each country to exploit any comparative advantage which its respective export industries might have (Hill 1991:226-7).

Since 1970, 40-50% of Australian exports to Indonesia have been primary products such as wheat, and since the early 1980s, cotton and dairy products. In the area of fuel and metal exports, coal has been the primary item, complemented by lead, zinc and bauxite. A small range of manufactured exports, including steel and chemical-based products, have accounted for the remainder of Australia's exports to Indonesia. On the Indonesian side, exports to Australia have been dominated by crude petroleum (80%), and small volumes of tea and coffee, wood products, handicrafts and manufactured goods which most recently have included textiles and garments (Hill 1991:219-22; Pangestu 1991:199-200).

Bilateral trade in services has been more difficult to quantify but has increased rapidly in recent times in the areas of tourism, education and consultancy services. Australia, along with Japan and Singapore, is one of the principle sources of inbound tourists to Indonesia, accounting for as much as 12% of the total. At present a diversity of large and small Australian enterprises provides consultancy services to Indonesia in areas of Australian expertise, including engineering, construction, agriculture and mining. Until the mid 1980s the provision of educational services by Australia to Indonesia had a sorry record, in particular because the tertiary sector of Australian education was inward-looking and highly regulated. In the latter half of the 1980s, there was a rapid turnaround in this area as the numbers of overseas fee-paying students increased. Students from Indonesia rose to third in number behind those from Malaysia and China. There is considerable potential for growth in bilateral trade in services between the two countries. Such trade is people-intensive and the proximity of the two countries is an important factor, as is the liberalisation of their respective service industries. In particular, in the fields of education and consultancies, there is potential for growth in the services offered to Indonesia by Australia. In education, however, a great deal more needs to be done on the Australian side to tailor courses to the needs of Indonesian students and to promote these (Hill 1991:234-5; Pangestu 1991:200).

Although the level of Australian investment in Indonesia has been a great deal lower than that of Japan and the United States, it has been more intense than one would have expected considering total Australian investment overseas. In fact, in 1986 Australia was the sixth largest investor in Indonesia ahead of many larger European countries. The most distinctive feature of Australian investment in the Indonesian economy is its concentration in the mining industry. In 1986, 70% of Australian investment in Indonesia outside of the oil industry was in mining. There was in addition investment in a wide range of manufacturing industries, in particular in the engineering and chemical industries. The pattern of Indonesian investment in Australia is less clear. The level of investment is a great deal less than that from other countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong and China. Several prominent Indonesians, however, are known to have substantial real estate investments in capital cities in Australia. The Timor Gap Agreement will no doubt also lead to substantial joint venture investment by Pertamina and Australian companies in the future (Hill 1991:228-31; Pangestu 1991:200-5).

Australia was the sixth largest donor of foreign aid to Indonesia in the 1980s, contributing between 5% and 8% of total aid, and since 1984 has been on a par with the United States. After Papua New Guinea, Indonesia has been the second largest receiver of Australian aid by a large margin. The present aid program represents a sensible complementarity of Australian strengths and Indonesian requirements. Its particular focus is eastern Indonesia, Indonesia's poorest region and an area close to Australia with a physical geography and climate amenable to Australian skills in dry land agriculture. In 1987-88, 19% of the Australian aid program was in agriculture. Transport and education, however, were both more significant, contributing respectively 37 and 35% of Australian aid to Indonesia (Hill 1991:231-5; Pangestu 1991:205).

Consideration of the condition of the Australian economy and the opportunities for trade with Asian countries where economic growth was strong has led

Australian governments to adopt strategies to reconstruct the nation's economy so that it is less dependent upon commodity exports and in a better position to export a more diversified range of goods and services. These include processed commodities, services in technology, education and tourism, as well as higher valued manufactured products. The declining share of Australia in the expansion taking place in the economies of Asia was well illustrated by the Asian Studies Council in its *National Strategy*. While Australia's exports to Asian countries had in fact increased in dollar terms between 1972 and 1986, its share of the expanding market for imports in the Asian region had declined considerably, dropping from 6.25% in 1976 to 3.5% in 1987 (*National Strategy* 1988:9-10).

We have seen above that Hill has forecast that, provided continued unilateral deregulation of the Australian and Indonesian economies takes place, improved complementarity between the two economies would provide business in both countries with opportunities to exploit any comparative advantage open to them. Optimistic predictions indicate that trade between Australia and Indonesia is set to treble to AUD\$7 billion by the year 2000 (*Australian Financial Review*, 27 October 1992:2). To take full advantage of such opportunities as these, the Asian Studies Council, as we have seen, argued that the mastery of Asian languages and a knowledge of Asian cultures were in the long term crucial to this enterprise. However compelling this argument might be, much stands between the prospect and the reality of the Australian business person, fluent and at ease in Indonesian and attuned to Indonesian cultural values, exploiting any comparative advantage which might be had in a deregulated Indonesian economy.

5.2.2 Australia's diplomatic relationship with Indonesia and public opinion

The official relationship between Australia and Indonesia improved dramatically around the signing in December 1989 of the Timor Gap agreement. Measure of the greater stability in the official relationship between the two countries was Indonesia's reaction to the Australian Government's criticism of the killings at the funeral in Dili on 12 December 1991. The Indonesians did not react particularly defensively as had been the case in previous disputes with Australia. On the whole, the diplomatic action related to the recent trouble in Timor has conveyed the impression that two moderate, friendly nations have been discussing a mutual irritant to their international relations.⁵⁵ More recently, the visit of Prime Minister Keating to Indonesia has confirmed the impression that the official relationship between the two nations is becoming more stable and growing in warmth.

Whatever the official relationship, as we noted in the previous chapter, Australian public opinion — especially that of middle-class, educated Australians — remains wary of Indonesia. Fear of Indonesia as a security threat, linked in the minds of some with a concern about Asian migration, would appear

⁵⁵ On 30 March 1992, Prime Minister Keating was asked during Parliamentary Question Time to discuss the status of East Timor. His response was that 'the question of the sovereignty of East Timor was settled by events in the mid-Seventies', thereby appearing to end any vestige of official Australian support for the notion of East Timorese self-determination.

also to be associated with an ambivalence in the Australian community about the value of Australia's relationship with Indonesia and other Southeast Asian nations in the future. The survey of teachers of Indonesian which was undertaken by the present project uncovered evidence of mixed feelings about Indonesia in the community. Teachers were of the view that there was opposition to the study of Asian languages in the community, and some were inclined to put this down to racist sentiment. On the other hand there were teachers who believed that awareness of the importance of Asia to Australia was a positive factor encouraging the study of Asian languages, and, even if at the present time opinion favoured the study of Japanese, it was an important factor encouraging the growth in student numbers in Indonesian/Malay. On the question of whether consideration of careers was a factor encouraging or inhibiting growth in the study of Indonesian/Malay in schools, the respondents to this same survey were pretty well equally divided in their opinion about its positive or negative effect on student choice of the subject. A recent survey of opinion at the University of Sydney also uncovered evidence of uncertainty about the significance of Australia's future relationships with Southeast Asia in the mind of tertiary-educated middle class Australians. When asked about the extent of the University's present and future involvement with Southeast Asia, the significant non-response rate (24-30%) to the question suggested that 'many in the University community [had] not committed themselves on the issue of the University's involvement in Southeast Asia' (*Future Directions* 1993:3). To fear and ambivalence, one can add the strong moral indignation which exists amongst some elements of the Australian community because of Indonesia's continued occupation of East Timor.

	Anti-Indonesian	Pro-Indonesian	Neutral/No Mention
Individuals			
Business	-	-	5
Academic	3	-	17
Others	25	1	3
Groups			
Business	-	-	5
Academic/cultural	1	-	10
Church/Timor/H. Rights	15	-	-
Government	-	-	7
Others	1	-	6
Total	45	1	53

Table 5.1
Australia's Relationship with Indonesia

The East Timor issue, for example, figured importantly in submissions to the recent Federal Parliament's Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade inquiry into Australia's relations with Indonesia. In this context, the Timor issue was very much the preserve of concerned individual Australians, church groups and East Timorese expatriates. The table below looks at the way this topic was approached in the various submissions to the Committee. Of the academic submissions only four addressed the issue of East Timor, the vast majority simply urging the expansion of business, cultural and educational links between Australia and Indonesia. It is also important to note that none of the business or government submissions, except that of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, mentioned the controversial topics of East Timor or West

Irian. They concentrated instead on what they considered to be the economic potential of developing an Indonesian market for Australian products.⁵⁶

5.2.3 Australian business and the employment prospects for speakers of Indonesian/Malay

As we shall see in Chapter 7, while some large Australian firms are operating internationally, the great majority — firms which for the most part employ 200 people or less — are not. Historically lacking the aggression of their American, Asian and European counterparts, and made cautious by the harsh economic environment in which they have been operating in recent times, the managements of these firms have limited resources at their disposal and have perhaps understandably been reluctant to initiate ventures overseas which have held only the promise of uncertain profits to be hard earned in the long term. If financial considerations have inhibited any enthusiasm which Australian business managers had to invest in the linguistic and cultural training of their personnel to fit them to operate overseas, the widely held conviction that English was the language of international trade certainly has not encouraged them in this enterprise. A report of the Centre for Export Management at the University of New South Wales in 1990 found that few managers spoke a language other than English, even fewer had command of a language appropriate to an expansion of Australian business in the Asia-Pacific region, and that there was even a lack of awareness amongst human resource managers of the languages and cultural skills of their existing employees (Centre for Export Marketing 1991:v). In these circumstances it is not surprising to learn that many Australian firms are simply unfamiliar with Indonesia and lack the detailed information which would enable them to take advantage of the market and investment opportunities which are undoubtedly available there.

There is another view which does acknowledge the advantages of Australian business personnel working in Indonesia having a command of Indonesian and a knowledge of Indonesian (business) culture. However, this view has it that Indonesia-specific knowledge must be combined with a professional business training and experience, and that while a working command of Indonesian is valuable, complete fluency in the language is unnecessary and is less important than a knowledge of Indonesian (business) culture and history. Until recently, there has been within higher education little attention given to the creation of such expertise. Leal *et al.* discovered that combined degrees and specialist courses were available in some institutions of higher education which had opened the opportunity for language study to students in areas such as engineering, commerce, applied science and computing (*Australia's Language* 1991 II:73; Leal *et al.* 1991 I:126, 129). There were, however, factors which inhibited the development of such arrangements. In the opinion of Leal *et al.*, the small number of graduates who were equipped with such a range of skills was largely due to a situation in professional faculties where the study of languages was not encouraged and where a regime of prerequisites and compulsory requirements for degrees provided little opportunity for the study of languages. The effects of

56 *Inquiry into Australia's Relations with Indonesia*: S10, S283, S605, S1045 and S917

this regime had been exacerbated by rivalries between faculties and departments within universities for students. The problem of providing the opportunity for the study of languages to students in professional faculties, however, was not entirely the responsibility of these faculties. Inherent in the manner in which languages have been taught in universities until the present is the inadequate number of hours available to bring students to a level of linguistic proficiency adequate for use in the work place. As for the future, provided that the design of professional degrees, in particular of business management training programs, includes the opportunity for linguistic and cultural training, we might look forward to a time when business firms operating in Indonesia will have properly trained personnel to hire.

In the meantime, however, the situation is one which Leal *et al.* considered could only confirm employers' lack of confidence that it was at all possible in Australia to train students to a level of proficiency which they would find useful to them (Leal *et al.* 1:125-7). The absence of such expertise and the problems in the way of its creation, then, have encouraged the belief amongst some business people that not only will English (have to) do, but that Australians simply cannot be trained to have the linguistic and cultural skills which business requires (see below). It is further argued that it is cheaper and makes better sense to employ Asian nationals. In the case of Indonesia it is argued that Indonesian nationals already have the linguistic skills and knowledge of Indonesian (business) culture and markets, and it makes better sense therefore to give them the business training they require to work effectively for Australian firms. This is a curious combination of attitudes — an acceptance of a cultural almost genetic inability for Australians to learn languages, combined with remembered hierarchies of colonial times when indigenous Indonesian-speaking peoples worked under the authority of the white Dutch/English-speaking manager. Should such a view hold in the longer term — and there is evidence that it might and that Australian graduates with professional training, a command of Indonesian and knowledge of Indonesian culture will find it difficult to gain employment with Australian firms — then the consequences for the teaching and learning not only of Indonesian/Malay but of other (Asian) languages, too, in Australia might be seriously affected. Optimistically, even if Australian firms should fail to recognise the need they have of Australians with these qualifications, one might hope that Australian education will continue to provide the training students require to equip themselves to compete successfully in an international labour market where these skills are much valued. The worst scenario, however, could well be the collapse of programs in schools and institutions of higher education as students continue to turn their backs on the study of languages and cultures seeing no realistic prospect of employment involving them.⁵⁷

When examining earlier periods, we noted the relationship between monolingualism and the narrow range of opportunities of employment for graduates with language skills. The Legge report to the Asian Studies Association of Australia in 1984 considered that the prospect of graduates of Asian languages finding employment which would use their expertise was bleak (see Chapter 4). Today, students in schools and universities are motivated to

⁵⁷ For a fuller discussion of the Australia-Indonesia business relationship and discussion of Indonesian language and cultural knowledge in this context, see Chapter 7.

study languages for a number of reasons. Important among them is the prospect of a career. The survey of Year 11 students conducted by the present NLLIA Key Languages Project indicated that students of Indonesian/Malay were motivated to study the language out of interest in the study of language and culture, a desire to travel to Indonesia and Malaysia, a strong sense of achievement conveyed to them by good marks, and the belief that the study of the language would enhance their job prospects. They did not, however, have any definite idea of where they would find such employment (see Chapter 8).

Leal *et al.* and Ingleson also reported on the career expectations of students studying languages in higher education. It was clear from the surveys carried out for both these reports that amongst this group of students many had taken up the study of languages with future careers in mind. While the prospect of a career was often the most important reason students gave for their interest in language study, it was in fact only one of a number of reasons which motivated them to do so. The survey for the inquiry of Leal *et al.* indicated that more than half the respondents were studying languages for a combination of reasons which included prospects of employment, pleasure and curiosity. The combination of utility and curiosity was also clearly apparent amongst the reasons students gave for their decision to study particular languages. First-year students studying Asian languages, surveyed for Ingleson's inquiry, also indicated that they did so for a combination of reasons. Some 67% of these respondents gave career, curiosity or interest, importance of the country, overseas travel and previous knowledge of the language as reasons for their decision to study Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian/Malay. Career, however, was the major reason nominated by 20% of respondents. In the case of Indonesian/Malay 17% of respondents gave this as their reason. Leal *et al.* reported that teaching was the profession in which the largest number of his respondents expected to find employment. While 20% of all respondents expected to find employment as language teachers, in the case of the most widely studied languages (Japanese, French, Italian, German and Chinese) the response rates varied between 25% and 38%. The response rates for other professions were significantly lower. Only 6%-7% favoured employment in the hospitality and tourist industry, and only 5% careers in business and management. Ingleson reported on the career expectations of first-year students studying Indonesian/Malay. While a number of areas of employment were nominated by these students, there was a strong preference for careers in teaching (30%), business (20%) and government service (15%). Thus the percentage of students of Indonesian/Malay who wish to seek careers in business would appear to be higher than the percentage of students in this case of other languages. In other areas of employment such as interpreting and translation, the law, research, tertiary teaching and journalism the preferences were notably lower, ranging between 2% and 7% (Leal *et al.* 1991 I:118-20 and 1991 II:Appendix 9; Ingleson 1989 I:145 and 1989 II:99-136).

It is important to note here that school teaching, the long-term source of employment for language graduates and the area of employment nominated by the largest number of respondents in the case of the Ingleson and Leal *et al.* surveys, appeared not to have been considered by students at the time as a very attractive option for a career. This was no doubt because of the depressed situation of the teaching of languages other than English in Australian schools and the lack of attractive career paths. The field of interpreting and translation, of considerable potential value to business and government in their

international dealings, had also not generated any strong demand for specialist courses at the time of the inquiries of Leal *et al.* and Ingleson (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:125; Ingleson 1989 1:174).

The career preferences and expectations which we have noted above for students studying languages are no doubt typical of career choices in faculties of arts and education where the majority of these students are found. If these students have little expectation of finding careers in business, students enrolled in professional degrees would appear to place little importance on the study of language and culture, according to a survey conducted by the Centre for Export Marketing at the University of New South Wales of final year school students and students primarily in faculties of commerce and engineering. According to the same report, only 2% of respondents to the survey indicated that they had any interest in a career in international business. Careers in Australia in the professions were considered much more attractive for the status and monetary rewards attached to them (Centre for Export Marketing 1991:47-51).

Clearly the prospect of employment must provide strong motivation for the study of any subject in education. Equally clearly, the manner in which governments, and others in the community, have drawn attention to the need to restructure the Australian economy, to orient it much more than in the past to the export of Australian goods and services to the fast growing economies of Asia, and the emphasis which they have placed on a proficiency in languages other than English in this process have found a receptive chord in the community and encouraged students to believe that knowledge of a language will enhance their prospect of employment. The rapid growth in the number of students studying Japanese is often cited as evidence of a strong community response to this kind of argumentation. The situation in the case of Indonesian/Malay is not so clear as that of Japanese. However, we might well see the effect of the economic argument in support of languages in the recent increase in numbers of students studying the language, in particular in higher education, and in the percentages of these students — higher than in the case of other languages — who want or expect to find careers in government service and business, two areas of employment which might be interpreted as inspired by the economic argument in support of the learning of the language.

It should be said immediately that this is not unambiguously the case. Still the largest proportion of students studying Indonesian/Malay do so with the prospect of teaching as a career. In this respect, we have seen that they are typical of students studying languages in higher education who are found in faculties of arts and education. Students of languages appear, then, not to be entirely convinced that they either want or will find a career in business, any more than students in faculties of commerce or engineering, whose careers will overwhelmingly be in some facet of business, appear to believe that the study of languages will be of much value to them in their future careers. Student uncertainty is matched by the attitudes of employers who either do not believe that a knowledge of Indonesian language and culture is vitally necessary to the duties which their Australian staff will perform in their enterprise overseas, or who are simply reluctant to embark upon any expansion of their businesses overseas in the present economic climate.

5.2.4 Conclusions: economic reasons for learning Indonesian/Malay

The economic argument in support of language learning is an important one and one which may well be influencing students to pursue the study of Indonesian/Malay. It is undoubtedly an argument which we should continue to put until such time as the experience of business demonstrates how valid it is. In the meantime, however, should employment opportunities not eventuate for Australians who are professionally qualified in some aspect of business studies and who are proficient in languages other than English, Indonesian/Malay included, then one important incentive upon which the present national effort to expand the learning and teaching of languages may well be seriously undermined. It is vital then, when we argue for the wider teaching of Indonesian/Malay, or for any language for that matter, that we remember that Australia's business relationships are but one aspect of Australia's international relations. We should not be encouraging the study of Indonesian/Malay for just one reason. The rationale which underlies the National Policy on Languages suggests a richer array of good reasons for doing so. If the National Policy on Languages has shown the way in this regard, Leal *et al.* have provided a much more detailed account of these reasons (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:2-55). In arguing the case for Indonesian/Malay it is important to turn this general rationale for all languages into one which is both realistic and specific to the case for Indonesian/Malay. A knowledge of Indonesian/Malay language and culture is as important to our security and environmental concerns and to the interaction which Australian scientists, technical experts, doctors and health workers, journalists and those working in the arts will increasingly have with their counterparts in Indonesia and Malaysia as it is to the business relationship between the two countries. The broad and varied nature of Australia's relationship with any Asian nation dictates not that the teaching of Asian languages and cultures be narrowly co-ordinated with courses in business studies and commerce. Rather as Graham McGuire, Chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade in 1991, has pointed out, 'the teaching of Asian Studies, while improving its co-ordination with business and commerce departments, should not become confined or concentrated in that area. The availability of courses which can provide a rounded education about Asian societies to students in all disciplines, particularly but not only those training to become teachers, media workers or public servants, should be expanded even more rapidly (McGuire 1991:15).⁵⁸

⁵⁸ I wish to thank Mr Paul Sweeney for drawing my attention to this issue in one of the many conversations we have had about aspects of this report.

5.3 The late 1980s: a time of change in language education

5.3.1 The schools

As we have seen, students appear to be motivated to study languages for a number of reasons. However, it is significant that it has been in a climate of opinion largely ordered by ambitions and anxieties about economic prosperity and by the attempts of governments both to establish vocational goals for Australian education and to integrate the Australian economy with the economies of the Asia-Pacific region that the numbers of school students studying Indonesian/Malay have increased significantly.

We have noted above that by 1988 students in schools learning languages other than English were 20.2% of the total school population of Australia. The proportion of language students represented an increase of 13% in student numbers per 10,000 over that in 1983. The increase, however, was entirely due to the growth in the numbers of students studying languages at the primary level. In the secondary schools, particularly in the senior years, numbers have continued to decrease significantly. In 1988 only 11% of students studying languages in schools were studying Asian languages. While significant increases in the numbers of students per 10,000 occurred between 1983 and 1988 in the case of Chinese and Japanese, the numbers per 10,000 students taking Indonesian/Malay declined by 8%. The number of matriculation students learning Indonesian/Malay also dropped in the same period. Nevertheless Indonesian/Malay was still the fifth most studied language in Australian schools and one of eight languages which 96% of language students in secondary schools learnt. Between 1988 and 1991, numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay increased by 20,572 or 82.54% in Australian schools. In 1991 Victoria was the State where the largest number and by far the most significant proportion of these students were to be found at the secondary level. At the primary level, students in the Northern Territory, South Australia and Victoria accounted for 70% of the students of the language. The increases have clearly taken place at the primary and lower secondary levels while numbers in Year 12 have remained small and accounted for only 2.75% of total secondary students of the language in 1991. It should be said here that teachers appear optimistic about the prospect that numbers of students studying the language in schools will continue to increase in the future. 79% of teachers who responded to the survey of teachers conducted by the present project said that the demand for Indonesian/Malay was being met in their schools and 83% expected numbers to increase or remain steady. They appear to have some grounds for this optimism based on prior experience in their schools: 67% already had the experience of steady or increasing numbers of students studying the language.⁵⁹

Nicholas *et al.*, in a recent report on the supply and employment of teachers of language in Australia, have identified a number of factors which affect the decision of students in Australian schools whether or not to take up the study of languages other than English (Nicholas *et al.* 1993: Chapter 7). These factors included students' backgrounds, educational practices and structures, as well as

⁵⁹ A total of 215 teachers from all States responded to the questionnaire.

widely held perceptions about the significance of particular languages, language study and the nature and quality of language teaching and learning.

5.3.1.1 Gender

In its discussion of students' backgrounds the report of Nicholas *et al.* noted the greater proportion of girls studying languages, a characteristic which was more evident in the upper secondary school and in higher education than at the primary level. Wykes and King in 1968 had suggested that languages had the impression of being a 'feminine' subject for a number of reasons which included the old tradition of a girl's education, school tradition and policy, vocational opportunities, the development of sex roles and the availability of staff. Nicholas *et al.* writing at the beginning of the 1990s, however, were more reticent about the reasons for the predominance of girls amongst students studying languages and advised caution when designing strategies to counter the possible perception amongst boys that language study contributed little to their chances of high status careers (Nicholas *et al.* 1993:166).⁶⁰ In the case of the students studying Indonesian/Malay in 1988, boys outnumbered girls in both primary and secondary schools. In this same year males also accounted for a slightly larger percentage of Year 12 students than did girls, suggesting that males persisted with the study of the language as much as girls did. In the survey of Year 11 students of Indonesian/Malay conducted for the present project, there were more males in the sample than females, and there were more or less equal proportions of females and males who intended to continue their study of the language at the level of higher education. Leal *et al.* in 1990, however, found that 75% of students studying the language in higher education were women. This situation no doubt is a product of the fact that in faculties of arts and education, the place of primary location of the departments teaching the language and the faculties where there was strongest promotion of its study, women were in a majority. The discrepancy between the proportion of boys who wish to continue the study of the language in higher education and the low proportion who actually do so, raises questions about the continuity in the study of Indonesian/Malay between school and higher education! The Year 11 survey also revealed some differences in the motivation of females and males who were learning Indonesian/Malay in schools. Females were more motivated to study the language out of an interest in and enjoyment of the study of language and culture, and females were also likely to be more affected by like or dislike of their teacher than were males (see Chapter 8).

5.3.1.2 Parental and community attitudes

Nicholas *et al.* also discussed the influence of parental and community attitudes with respect to the value of the study of languages. It is clear that students continue to be attracted to the study of languages other than English and, as we

⁶⁰ See Susan Zammit's *The Challenge: Choosing to Study a Language Through High School* which was nearing completion when the present study went to press.

have seen, are motivated to do so for a combination of reasons which include prospects of employment, pleasure, curiosity and a sense of achievement. Parents of course share general and particular community values. However it is not clear how their attitudes precisely affect the educational choices of their children. Wykes, commenting on the early 1960s and Robinson on the mid 1970s reported the generally positive attitudes of parents towards their children learning languages. Nicholas *et al.* also reported that more recent surveys amongst parents suggest that they are very much in favour of their children learning languages, arguing on this basis that there had grown a far more positive attitude towards bilingualism in the Australian community in the past two decades. It is unclear how parental attitudes have been influenced by recent debate about languages other than English in public discussion of multiculturalism and the country's economic situation. On the one hand, according to Nicholas *et al.*, the effect of parental attitudes appears to take on an acute form when they consider their children's future education and careers. The consistent trends in the demand for Japanese at all levels as a language which will enhance prospects of employment suggests that concern for children's future economic well-being is strong and that study of Japanese at least is valued for this reason. On the other, as we have noted above (see Chapter 1), public opinion polls suggest that Australians, however much they might value the learning of languages other than English, give higher priority to other subjects.

High levels of language proficiency across a range of different areas of language use is required in the workplace. Nicholas *et al.* have pointed to a lack of clarity amongst students, their parents and in schools about the levels of proficiency which are needed in employment with the consequence that teachers have not been able to generate the required levels of proficiency, and students themselves, believing that they could learn a language in a relatively short time, have become despondent and abandoned language study when confronted by the complex task involved (Nicholas *et al.* 1993:189). There is a real danger in a situation in which there is a too narrow focus on the utilitarian reasons for the study of languages, a far too narrow focus on a small number of languages, and in which there are unrealistic expectations both about the achievement of levels of proficiency which confer employability and about the future availability of jobs requiring language proficiency and cultural knowledge. Should employment prospects not be realised in such a situation, there is the likelihood of a backlash which will generate negative attitudes not only towards the languages directly concerned but also towards the study of languages in general, and older attitudes harboured in the community will then once again be encouraged.

We have already noted, for example, that there is still a widespread belief, especially amongst monolinguals, that languages other than English are difficult to learn. Certainly many monolinguals have antagonistic attitudes towards languages other than English, whether engendered by their own negative experience of learning languages, lack of knowledge of how students actually learn to use a second language, or unrealistic attitudes about the time required to do so. Amongst parents who are themselves speakers of a language other than English there also exists an ambivalence about language programs. On the one hand they welcome the opportunity available to their children to study their own language but fear that 'ghettoisation' will disadvantage their children's future education and careers. Such ambivalence is unfortunate, Nicholas *et al.* argue, because it is clear that students with a background in a

language other than English are not only more likely to take up the study of languages than those with monolingual backgrounds but are also likely to be advantaged by their study of their first language in the study of additional languages. In this situation it is of the utmost importance that the community has a realistic set of expectations about the components of a successful language learning experience, such as curriculum, assessment, teacher competence and prospects of employment (Nicholas *et al.* 1993:166-173).

5.3.1.3 Time and language education

Importantly in this regard, Nicholas *et al.* have drawn attention to the inherently sequential nature of language learning as students internalise knowledge of a language and then put it to actual use. The process is one which requires continuity of study and regularity and intensity of exposure. They reported a general absence of these fundamental requirements in the language programs of Australian schools. Drawing on the *National Survey of Language Learning in Australian Schools of 1988*, they noted that the amount of time allocated to language subjects varied considerably across the country and across schooling systems. Only in South Australia and Victoria did the majority of students at the primary level receive more than one hour per week of language instruction and only in South Australian secondary schools did students learning languages other than English receive more than three hours per week of instruction. They also pointed out that in many schools language classes had also been highly irregular because of regimes of prerequisites for entry to Year 11, quotas on numbers and the manner in which timetables were constructed (Nicholas *et al.* 1993:173-180). According to Brown and McKay, Indonesian/Malay was no exception as far as the allocation of time is concerned (Brown and McKay 1991:16), and teachers who responded to the teacher survey conducted by the present project also considered that the manner in which timetables were arranged was one of those factors which inhibited the teaching of Indonesian/Malay.⁶¹

5.3.1.4 A variety of linguistic proficiencies in the classroom

According to Nicholas *et al.*, teaching languages other than English had been made all the more difficult because of a situation in the classroom in which teachers were confronted by students with a variety of levels of linguistic proficiency. The proficiency mix in this kind of situation might well be a complex one. It might include students from overseas and Australian residents, who might include both students from English-speaking backgrounds as well as those who had backgrounds in languages other than English. The latter group was likely to include a variety of proficiencies across standard/non-standard varieties of a language, differing levels of literacy and interlocutors. They argued that such a mix would continue to be the norm in Australian schools for

61 The comment to which this footnote is attached was based on responses to Question 32 of the questionnaire sent to teachers. See note 1 above.

the foreseeable future. Ingleson recognised the value of bilingual students and argued that their cultural and linguistic skills should be extended and taken advantage of. However, he also expressed concern about problems created by the practice of having background speakers of Asian languages in the same courses and sitting for the same examinations as those who were second language learners. In such a learning environment, second language learners became demoralised. He drew particular attention to the situation which had prevailed in New South Wales in the early 1980s. There a mix of background speakers of Indonesian/Malay and second language learners had sat for the same Higher School Certificate examinations. In this case background speakers of Indonesian/Malay were perceived to have made it difficult for second language learners to gain the high marks in final school examinations which were needed for entry to institutions of higher education and for employment (Ingleson 1989 1:116-7, 127).

As far as the teaching of languages in classrooms where there were mixed levels of proficiency is concerned, Nicholas *et al.* pointed out that it was well beyond the capacity of individual teachers to generate the materials and methods which were required in such a situation. A formidable amount of curriculum support was needed for the teacher, support which in the opinion of Nicholas *et al.* was not universally provided by systems of education. Programs such as the Australian Language Levels (ALL) Guidelines, while they did recognise some of the issues associated with teaching learners of diverse backgrounds, in general had failed to address sufficiently the fact that the needs of background learners of languages were significantly different from those of second-language learners. This aspect of the ALL materials was apparent in the materials developed by the National Indonesian Language Curriculum Project (NILCP), at least at the time of the interim report in 1990 (Nicholas *et al.* 1993:173-180; Ingram 1992: 50-1).

Nicholas *et al.* believed that the scaling procedures associated with final Year 12 examinations provided powerful disincentives for all learners of languages, both background and non-background speakers, wherever this level of proficiency mix existed (Nicholas *et al.* 1993:180-184). Nicholas *et al.* sought a solution to the dilemma in a proposal for three levels of assessment at Year 12 level: one for those students who had taken up the study of a language at Year 11, one for those who had studied a language throughout secondary school and, finally, one for students who had a substantial knowledge of a language. The combination of these three levels of assessment and multiple entry points into institutions of higher education, protected by eligibility criteria and accurate recognition of achievement within each level, they believed, would do away with the current need to scale marks for languages and leave tertiary institutions free to express preferences for what they believed to be appropriate requirements for courses (Nicholas *et al.* 1992:180-187).

The attitudinal survey of Year 11 students which was carried out by the present project, identified very few background speakers of Indonesian/Malay in the sample. Few students in the sample discontinued the study of the language because of the presence of background speakers of the language in the classroom. Solutions to the problem of dealing with the examination of background speakers of Indonesian/Malay in Year 12 have been sought in different ways in different States. In the case of New South Wales, South Australia and Western

Australia, different syllabuses exist for background speakers and second language learners and separate examinations for the two groups of students at the end of Year 12 are held. In New South Wales the syllabus and examination for background speakers provide the opportunity for the study of both Indonesian and Malaysian, in South Australia the equivalent syllabus caters specifically for Malaysian students, while in Western Australia the language studied and examined is Indonesian. After the syllabus for background speakers of Indonesian/Malay was introduced in New South Wales the numbers of students enrolling in the course declined notably. In the case of both South Australia and Western Australia the majority of students who study the syllabuses and sit for the examinations for background speakers of the language do so in Malaysia, although in both cases provision is made for students to study in the two States. The following table shows the numbers sitting for the examination for the South Australian examination between 1985 and 1990:

Year	No. of students sitting for the examination in:	
	South Australia	Malaysia
1985	38	703
1986	4	573
1987	21	474
1988	25	453
1989	20	354
1990	19	375

Table 5.2
Number of Students sitting for the Matriculation Examination in Malay

It seems that in Western Australia the number of students is smaller, but roughly similar proportions of students sit for the examination in that State and in Malaysia (see Chapter 4). In the ACT, the syllabus in Years 11 and 12 is designed only for those students who have completed Year 10 or its equivalent or students who have only a limited background in Indonesian/Malay and who have not studied the language at school. Another solution is proposed in Victoria, where multiple entry points are provided in language syllabuses so that students who have an extensive knowledge of a language on entering the senior secondary school, including background speakers of a language, may start their language studies at a more advanced level than second language learners. All students receive credit only for those units which they have undertaken and completed satisfactorily (*Languages other than English: Indonesian* 1991:4). It is clear that the situation of background speakers of the language ought to be carefully monitored to ensure that Australian citizens who have the advantage of a background in Indonesian/Malay are encouraged to build on that background and to seek employment in which high levels of proficiency in the language are required. Experience has indicated just how damaging inappropriate mixes of levels of proficiency in examinations can be. On the other hand too draconian entry requirements for particular language courses might have the equally damaging effect of discouraging background speakers realising the full value of their proficiency in the language. This is important in a situation in which the Indonesian/Malay speaking community in Australia is not large.

5.3.1.5 Teachers, their training, appointment and teacher support

Nicholas *et al.* claimed that language courses, particularly at senior levels of secondary schools, were also in a precarious position because of ad hoc staffing management practices. They reported that they had been repeatedly provided with evidence of teachers being appointed to teach languages when they had no training as language teachers. Many lacked the required level of linguistic competence and/or professional training which properly prepared them to deal with the situation which they were likely to meet in the classroom. The situation had been exacerbated by the too narrow range of languages which schools were prepared to offer — a situation which had placed severe strains on the current limited supply of quality teachers. Ingleson in 1989 stressed the need to improve the quality of the teaching of Asian languages. This, in his view, meant that graduates with high levels of proficiency in Asian languages and special instruction on how to teach these languages had to be attracted to careers as school teachers by enhanced opportunities of promotion and other material incentives (Ingleson 1989:116-7, 174-6). In 1991, Brown and McKay pointed out that it was difficult to judge with any precision whether the supply of trained teachers of Indonesian/Malay was adequate or not. However, the adoption of new government policies promoting the study of languages other than English and identifying Indonesian/Malay as one of the priority languages to be taught had created the prospect of increasing numbers of students studying the language in schools across the country. It was essential therefore that everything be done to ensure that more teachers of Indonesian/Malay were trained and recruited into the schooling system (Brown and McKay 1991:26). Responses to the survey of teachers of Indonesian/Malay conducted by the present project suggest that there is a shortage of teachers of Indonesian, particularly at the primary level, and that the continuity of programs at some schools was jeopardised by the shortage. The same survey also uncovered evidence which indicates that teachers have been appointed, particularly at the primary level in some States, who have had no proper training as teachers of languages and are minimally proficient in the language.

The survey of teachers of Indonesian/Malay elicited 215 responses from teachers across the country. Two categories of teachers of Indonesian were identified in terms of training and experience. The first, and the largest amongst the respondents, consisted of well-trained and experienced teachers of the language who had spent time in Indonesia travelling and studying there for six months or more. At the secondary level most teachers had studied the language for at least three years at tertiary level. There were seven native speakers of the language in the sample. Only one of these had tertiary qualifications in Indonesian language. Almost half the respondents teaching Indonesian/Malay in 1992 had five years teaching experience. Seven of the sample of 215 had between 21 and 25 years of Indonesian teaching experience, 25 between 11 and 15 years, and 37 between six and ten years such experience. A sizeable proportion of the sample (33%) had attended in-country courses in Indonesia: 53 had completed the four-week Intensive Course in Indonesian Language and Culture at Satya Wacana University in Salatiga, ten a similar course at Gajah Mada University in Jogjakarta and seven other language courses in Indonesia. Some 59, or 27%, of the respondents had taken students on school excursions to Indonesia, very often in their holiday time. Some had attended conferences in Indonesia and a few had participated in a Youth-Exchange program. Forty-one, or 19%, of the sample

had lived in Indonesia or Malaysia for periods of more than six months. The second group comprised those who had recently been recruited to the ranks of Indonesian teachers as the result of government initiatives to promote the study of languages other than English in primary schools. These teachers have no tertiary qualifications in Indonesian/Malay, had not attended in-service courses in the area of Indonesian language teaching, had virtually no first-hand experience of Indonesia and are heavily reliant on the back-up of a visiting language-trained teacher of Indonesian. Most of the teachers in this group of the sample were primary school teachers in both Government and Independent schools in programs in Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia. It seems that educational authorities are aware of this problem and are, at least in some cases, doing something about it. In 1992 in Queensland, for example, the Department of Education provided teachers of Indonesian with in-service training and teachers in the group in the sample had been supplied with LOTE kits, but as one of these teachers observed, describing her language teaching methodology, 'as the book says it, I do it'.⁶²

Teachers in the classroom require other forms of support. Brown and McKay in their *National Strategy for Indonesian Language Teaching and Learning* emphasised the need of language advisers and consultants. In this regard there was a need of both trained and experienced teachers as well as native speakers of Indonesian/Malay. They noted that in 1991 there were none of these in Victoria, Queensland or Tasmania. Teachers responding to the survey of teachers conducted for the present project also identified the need for support of Indonesian consultants at State and regional levels. Consultants who had recent classroom experience were required to familiarise teachers with the new resources which were becoming available, to assist with the development of courses in certain schools, but in particular to devise and co-ordinate professional development programs. Such programs would provide the training teachers required to utilise the new communicative syllabuses and resource materials. If the supply of qualified teachers and the level of support provided was a problem in Australian cities, the situation was much worse in country areas (Nicholas *et al.* 1993:195-197). According to Nicholas *et al.* the level of support for language teachers in country areas was in general particularly poor. Country teachers needed greater access to skilled users of languages, distance education technology, and curriculum development support in the form of consultants and advisers. The predicament of teachers of Indonesian/Malay in country areas was mentioned by only a small number of respondents to the teacher survey which the present project conducted. The small number is presumably a factor of the number in the sample who were teaching in country schools and should in no way be taken to mean that the comments of Nicholas *et al.* do not apply to teaching Indonesian/Malay in country areas.⁶³

Teachers also had need to attend intensive language courses to improve and maintain their proficiency in Indonesian/Malay. Such courses should be

62 The comment to which this footnote is attached was based on responses to Questions 32 and 33 of the questionnaire. Both questions were open-ended. Question 32 asked respondents to list in order of priority five points which in the teacher's perception had either led to the increase of the study of Indonesian in the teacher's school or had hindered its study. Question 33 asked respondents 'What further comments regarding the teaching of Indonesian do you feel should be brought to the attention of policy makers?'

63 The comment to which this footnote is attached was based on responses to Question 32 of the questionnaire sent to teachers of Indonesian/Malay.

provided both in-country and in Australia. Apart from consultants and programs of professional development, respondents to the survey also identified other requirements, such as time release from classroom activities and financial assistance to teachers to participate in in-service courses and intensive language courses. We have pointed out above that a third of the teachers of Indonesian/Malay who responded to the teacher survey had attended in-country courses in Indonesia. It is clear that with financial support of Commonwealth and State governments and the Australia-Indonesia Institute many teachers are being provided with the opportunity which they must have of regularly upgrading and maintaining their language proficiency in Indonesian. Teachers also believe that the close proximity of Indonesia and Australia is a factor which ought to be more exploited to encourage the study of the language. Indonesia's close proximity provides a favoured tourist destination for Australians and the opportunity for school excursions.⁶⁴ Some respondents pointed to the benefits of teacher-exchange programs of the kind which has been operating in the Northern Territory for some time and to the benefits of sister-school arrangements in fostering contacts between Australian and Indonesian schools. The teacher and student exchange program in the Northern Territory has been operational now for at least 15 years. It commenced as a teacher-exchange program but has been expanded recently to include students. In 1992 four Australian teachers and ten students were located in Bali, Nusa Tenggara Barat and Maluku. Indonesian teachers and students came to Australia in the second half of the year under the scheme. It has been encouraging to see that, following the signing in September 1991 of a Memorandum of Understanding between Queensland and the Province of Central Java, the Queensland Minister of Education visited Central Java where he signed an agreement for educational co-operation which was to provide for a teacher-exchange program. Under this scheme up to five teachers from both Central Java and Queensland will spend up to a year in each country. A sister-school program, involving the exchange of correspondence and perhaps school visits, and the tour of a performing arts group to Queensland schools will also have a place under the terms of the agreement.

5.3.1.6 Continuity of language study

Ingleson (1989) argued that the continuity of language study between primary and secondary schools had to be improved. While the development of national curriculum guidelines within the framework of the ALL guidelines, which had been supported by the Asian Studies Council, will provide a good basis for progression from primary to secondary school, other measures are needed to ensure continuity of learning between these two levels of education. At the time when Ingleson wrote his report, students who had studied an Asian language at the primary level often had no opportunity to continue their study of the language at secondary level. Furthermore, there were many cases where programs for the study of a language had collapsed because of the loss of a teacher who could not be replaced (Asian Studies Council 1988:14). Such problems, Ingleson believed, could be avoided if there was an adequate supply of

⁶⁴ The comment to which this footnote is attached was based on responses to Questions 32 and 33 of the questionnaire sent to teachers.

teachers of Asian languages and if arrangements, such as cluster schools, were put in place to provide for the continuity of language learning between primary and secondary schools (Asian Studies Council 1988:16-17; Ingleson 1989 1:115-6, 175). Brown and McKay (1991) were also concerned at a situation in which continuity of the study of Indonesian/Malay was in jeopardy, not only between primary and secondary schools but within secondary schools as well. Ideally, they argued, the opportunity to study the language beyond the first year of high school should be provided in particular schools. However, where this was not possible, they encouraged the formation of cluster schools — also important in guaranteeing continuity between primary and secondary levels — and in geographically remote areas the use of distance education techniques appropriately adapted for conditions in particular schools (Brown and McKay 1991:15-16). State governments are aware of this need, and the present project has been able to identify some initiatives intended to provide continuity of study of Indonesian/Malay.

In South Australia the expansion of programs for teaching languages other than English is being managed through the Languages Other than English Mapping and Planning Project (LOTEMAPP), which among other things has been designed to ensure continuity in the study of particular languages between primary and secondary schools, to quantify the number of teachers required for particular languages, and to identify new programs of language study, their mode of delivery and the timing of their introduction. The teacher survey conducted by the present project suggests, however, that there are problems here, especially in country areas where students who have started the study of Indonesian/Malay at primary levels cannot continue to do so at the local high school. In Tasmania, school clusters for teaching languages other than English are at present being implemented. There are two such clusters which have cluster-wide Indonesian programs. The Eastern Suburbs Cluster has received a grant of over \$100,000 from the Department of Employment, Education and Training. The project, which is to design and implement a program for teaching Indonesian, is to last for three years and is co-ordinated by the Indonesian teacher at Ravenswood High School in Launceston. The results of the project are intended to be applicable to all States and should therefore benefit the teaching of Indonesian all over the country. A second school cluster teaching Indonesian in Tasmania is in the Hartz District and is centred on the Hobart College, the only senior college with Indonesian in the district. In 1992 the Tasmanian Department of Education provided a grant of \$34,000 to the cluster to develop its program of training local primary school teachers in four schools. The Queensland Indonesian LOTE Kit is the primary resource for the primary schools in the cluster. In the ACT there are also two continuity programs, one at Weston Creek and the other at Belconnen. The ACT has made funding available for the Primary Continuity Program at Weston Creek. Four primary schools are provided with above-establishment teachers (one who attends three schools, another one school) providing students in Years 4, 5 and 6 with one hour of instruction (two half hour lessons) in Indonesian each week. The teachers consult regularly with the local high school teacher at Stromlo High. The program at Belconnen involves three primary schools.

At the time of writing it was difficult to determine what programs for teaching in Indonesian primary schools were in place in New South Wales and what measures had been taken to ensure that students would be able to pursue the study

of the language at the secondary level. There appears to be no broadly coordinated program for teaching Indonesian/Malay in primary schools in this State. However, the present project identified a number of initiatives to introduce Indonesian into primary schools. In 1990, a telematics program for Indonesian was established linking Young High School with Boorowa Central School. Indonesian is also taught at Dundas Primary School leading to further study of the language at the Language High School at Parramatta, and in Deniliquin the language is taught at Deniliquin Primary School in a program that is now linked to a program at Deniliquin High School. Other programs at the primary level, all of which started in 1991, are at Ballina and Kyogle on the north coast, on the south coast and in the Hunter region. Indonesian is also taught at the primary level in the Catholic Archdiocese of Armidale.

Particular mention ought to be made of an exciting continuity program in Victoria which combines an immersion program in Indonesian at Roeville Secondary College in Years 7-10 linked to a cluster of four feeder primary schools in the area. Roeville offers an immersion program in Years 7-10 with compulsory language lessons and an Indonesian studies component in other subjects such as history, geography, art, science, home economics, music, etc. Classes cover such topics as Indonesian mask-making in art, a unit on the environment in science involving endangered species, the gamelan in music, and Indonesian food and cooking in home economics. The school has begun the collection of extensive resources to support the program. A field trip is planned for the Year 10 class as the culmination of the program. The first trip was to have taken place in 1992, involving an 18-day program covering Jakarta, Jogjakarta and Bali. One week will be in school time, the remainder over the holidays. The students will visit a junior high school in Ubud, Bali, and sessions in arts and crafts have been planned. Indonesian was selected as the language/culture for study at Roeville after consultation with parents and the community. The Ministry of Education has provided a half-time teacher's aide, who sees 25 classes in the four feeder primary schools in Grades 3 to 6. The preparation for these primary classes is done in conjunction with the teacher at Roeville Secondary College and the resources used are also from the college.

5.3.1.7 Language teaching methodology, curriculum and syllabus changes

In the previous chapter we noted that in earlier periods there had been an energetic production of coursebooks and materials for teaching Indonesian/Malay in Australian schools and higher education. The authors of these books had responded to the need to incorporate the change in language-teaching methodology from the old grammar-translation to the new audio-lingual method and had done so on the whole, not out of any slavish adherence to a new orthodoxy, but with a sensible pragmatism and with an eye for what was likely to work well in the classroom. Brown and McKay claimed that much of the material that was available for teaching Indonesian/Malay was 'thoroughly outdated' and that the same was true of material for teaching cultural studies (Brown and McKay 1991:30, 40; Pollard 1991). As we have seen, this is true at least to the extent that the principal coursebooks available for teaching the language were first written in the period between 1969 and 1974 and utilised what is now considered an outdated teaching methodology.

Policies to promote the wider study of languages in all States and Territories have led to substantial changes in the design of curricula affecting teaching languages other than English and to the rewriting of syllabuses and courses for teaching Indonesian/Malay. In this environment the Australian Language Levels Guidelines and functional-notional and communicative methods have played an important role in determining the direction of change. With other languages, these two methods came in two waves: functional-notional at the beginning of the 1980s, shading into communicative in the mid 1980s. But for Indonesian/Malay, the peculiar situation of decline in the 1980s meant that these two methods have tended to appear together, in published material from about 1988.

The main strength of the functional-notional method was a shift in emphasis from language form to language use. The question is always asked: 'What does the speaker want to do?' The answer to this question was expressed in 'functions', such as 'agreeing', 'apologising' and 'asking for clarification'. The starting point was the functions, and teaching materials were organised around them. Teachers and students often found this way of looking at language stimulating and exciting.

The main criticism of functional-notional texts has been that most still break language down too far, so that students learn small sets of functions that are inadequate for the longer conversations in which they are embedded in any real-life situation. And, as in the audio-lingual methods that preceded, there was once again little consideration of non-verbal communication, or of the negotiating and risk-taking aspects of real-life language use. Also, with such drastic change of emphasis away from grammar, no-one was quite sure where grammar was taught.

The communicative method is now so widespread in teaching that almost all teachers call themselves 'communicative'. It is not always clear what this means. However, the appeal of this method lies mainly in its emphasis on tasks in class that resemble as far as possible the real-life speech situations for which the class is preparation. Thus pair and group work in many forms (information exchange, information synthesis, barrier games) has become the central class activity. Attention is expressly given to non-verbal communication, and to the longer stretches of speech, with their stops and starts, uncertainties and negotiations of meaning, which characterise real-life speech. The emphasis is on authenticity. There is also greater attention to the sociolinguistic dimensions of using foreign languages.

As with functional-notional methodology, the status of grammar is often unclear in communicative teaching. Teachers may regard grammar and pronunciation as unimportant. Even when they are seen as important, it is not clear where or how they are to be integrated into classroom activity. The approach can focus too much attention on activities, and too little on linguistic content. This may lead to a lack of coherence and sense of direction from both the teacher's and learner's

point of view. Some learners do not like the constant pressure to speak, and prefer a more traditional approach.⁶⁵

What follows below is not intended to be a comprehensive statement of all the developments in this area but simply an attempt to indicate something of the substantial curriculum and syllabus development work which has occurred since 1986 in the different States and Territories. In the case of Queensland, for example, in 1989-90, programs were commenced to provide continuity in teaching languages other than English on a Kindergarten to Year 12 model (Aspelt 1991:13-15). Development of the K-10 curriculum has stimulated interest in teaching languages other than English in Queensland primary schools. With Commonwealth Government funding, Curriculum Development Services has undertaken the design of a non-language specific syllabus, together with guidelines and source book for teaching languages other than English at the senior primary and lower secondary school level. The LOTE Kit packages of materials are for six languages, including Indonesian. Drawing on the ALL Guidelines and Queensland's P(K)-10 Language Education Framework, they are designed to be taught in three stages to beginners at this level of schooling and for use by non-specialist classroom teachers working under the guidance of a visiting specialist teacher in a particular language. Clusters of primary schools about a secondary school, where fully qualified teachers of the language(s) taught are available, are utilised to underpin this arrangement. Each Kit is to contain teacher instruction books, activity books for students, and audio and video tapes. An Indonesian Kit is currently available for use in the upper primary school and contains 16 units, four to be taught in each school term. They are:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Greetings | 9. Special days |
| 2. Let's go archipelago | 10. What shall I wear? |
| 3. How old are you? | 11. Animal friends |
| 4. A family affair | 12. Family news |
| 5. At school | 13. Let's go shopping |
| 6. Count with me | 14. To market, to market |
| 7. This is me | 15. Eating out |
| 8. My extended family | 16. Celebrations. |

In Queensland there are no language-specific syllabuses for Years 11 and 12. Teachers prepare their own programs following guidelines from the Board of Secondary School Studies and submit them for approval at the beginning of each year. There is, however, an Indonesian syllabus for Years 8-10, which was issued in 1988. The acquisition of language skills, covering the four macroskills of listening, speaking, reading and writing, are integrated with the learning of culture and arranged into about 60 language functions which are described in relation to grammatical features typical of them and situations in which they are typically used. Teachers are free to develop their own programs on the basis of the syllabus taking account of their own school's needs and resources, but subject to the requirement that a minimum of 150 hours is taught in the subject across Years 9 and 10. Teachers are also provided with detailed assessment descriptors as a guide for making a global statement about each student's level of

⁶⁵ For commentary on the communicative method see Farquhar (ed.) (1992:1-53).

achievement based upon designated levels of proficiency across the four macroskills.

In New South Wales, a white paper, *Excellence and Equity*, detailing curriculum reforms, was issued at the end of 1989. Amongst the reforms proposed were measures affecting the place of languages other than English in the school curriculum. Six Key Learning Areas for the primary schools and seven for the secondary schools in New South Wales were designated as required areas of study for all students. In this framework, provision was made for the study of languages at the primary level in the Key Learning Area, Human Society and its Environment. In the case of the secondary schools there is a separate Key Learning Area for the study of languages. The study of languages was to become compulsory in Years 7-10 and a mandatory 100 hours is to be introduced in all schools by 1996, to be followed later by a mandatory 200 hours. In recent years in New South Wales there has also been a systematic revision of language syllabuses, including those for Indonesian/Malay. In 1988 an Indonesian syllabus for Years 7-10 was approved for introduction in 1990, and in 1990 the senior 2/3 Unit syllabus for Years 11 and 12 was issued for implementation in 1991 in Year 11. Currently a revision of the 2 Unit Z syllabus, for beginning learners of the language in Year 11, is under way and one is proposed for the 2/3 Unit Bahasa Indonesia/Malaysia syllabus for background speakers of the language. The revisions of all these syllabuses, except the one for background speakers, share a fairly common rationale, set of objectives and aims and have been influenced by the ALL Guidelines.

In the ACT, curriculum development is a school-based responsibility. The Board of Senior School Studies is responsible for the accreditation of courses in Years 11 and 12. At this level a model course for teaching Indonesian, along with its assessment instrument, was developed at Lake Ginninderra College and was approved in 1991. At present, other Senior Colleges are using this course for the development of their own courses in Indonesian. The course is consistent with the ALL Guidelines, the National Indonesian Language Curriculum Project, and is accommodated to White's *Bahasa Tetanggaku Stage 3* and resource materials designed for the communicative teaching of the language which were made available by the New South Wales Department of Education. The course consists of eight modules of approximately one term's duration, centred on a theme appropriate to students' needs and interest. The module titles are:

- | | |
|---------------|------------------------|
| 1. Youth | 5. Entertainment |
| 2. Travel | 6. Beliefs and Customs |
| 3. Media | 7. Relationships |
| 4. Employment | 8. Politics. |

The activities suggested are as laid out in the ALL Guidelines and the National Indonesian Language Curriculum Project in three domains, 'interpersonal', 'informational' and 'aesthetic'. For all modules, there are long lists of specific communicative functions, in which students are expected to develop proficiency, together with the grammar to be covered, which has been taken from the National Indonesian Language Curriculum Project. In each module students are assessed on their performance in activities and tests covering the four macro skills and three domains.

In Tasmania, where a languages policy was due for release in late 1992, the ALL Guidelines have again been influential in informing the design of syllabuses for teaching Indonesian. There are two groups of syllabuses, both following the stages of the ALL Guidelines, three covering Stages 1-3 and intended for those students studying the language in Years 9-10 and four others covering Stages 3-4 for those students studying Indonesian between Years 9-12. In Western Australia there are two Indonesian courses available for study in the senior secondary schools. The 'Indonesian: Specialist Course' is designed for those students who have a fluent command of Indonesian or Malaysian. There is an emphasis in this course on bilingual practices, such as reading and translating from Indonesian into English, reading and oral interpreting and paraphrasing from English into Indonesian, etc. The course 'Indonesian: Second Language', as its title suggests, is a course designed for second language learners, that is, those students who have learnt the language in an Australian school or similar environment. The syllabus is designed to train students to be able to communicate within the settings of everyday life on the topics prescribed by the syllabus. In addition there are optional areas of cultural study. Here students are required to study either Modern Indonesian Literature, Religion in Indonesia, Indonesia 1945-65 or Indonesia since 1965. Standard-referenced systems of teacher assessment operate in conjunction with both syllabuses, allowing teachers to profile their students' proficiency across different facets of the courses. At the time of writing there was no syllabus for the primary level, but at the junior and middle secondary levels syllabuses in draft form do exist. Teachers have been left the task of devising their own courses and resources at these levels.

In early 1991 in Victoria a LOTE Study Design for Indonesian was issued by the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Board for the new Victorian Certificate of Education. In its design it is consistent with the ALL Guidelines and the National Assessment Framework for Languages at the Senior Secondary Level. The Indonesian Study Design, which presumes 300-400 contact hours of pre-Year 11 study of the language, is based on a sequence of four units of study. Units 3 and 4 must be studied in sequence and are provided with a set of common assessment tasks. Each unit contains three interrelated areas of study:

1. discourse forms
2. activities, settings and roles
3. linguistic elements

and four work requirements:

1. speaking to inform
2. focusing on performance
3. writing.
4. re-organising information.

Each unit involves 100 hours of study, 50 to 60 of which are expected to be offered in class time. The Study Design lists at length discourse forms, speech functions and topics. The topics and issues covered are intended to be of interest and relevance to the Australian student and to have the potential to introduce a strong personal and cultural element into the study of the language. Topics include family life, travelling, lifestyles, history, the arts, language and culture, business, Australia-Indonesia relations, trade, the environment and

others. The specifications and conditions for the setting and awarding of grades based on the common assessment tasks attached to Units 3 and 4 are also described.

In South Australia each school prepares its own program for teaching Indonesian to students in Years 7-10. It is anticipated that the National Indonesian Language Curriculum Project, about which something more will be said below, will provide the framework for courses at this level when it becomes available. There are, however, two syllabuses for the study of Indonesian in senior high schools. These are based upon the Extended Subject Framework for Modern Languages which has extensions for individual languages. The syllabus for Year 11 was issued in 1991 for examination in 1992 and that for Year 12 is to be examined in 1993. Both are structured according to the ALL Guidelines. Since 1985, there have also been a syllabus and examination for background speakers of Malaysian in South Australia. The syllabus is designed to cater for students who have advanced language skills as well as to provide the opportunity to study Malaysian literature and culture.

South Australia and the Northern Territory, supported by funding from the Asian Studies Council, have co-operated on the National Indonesian Language Curriculum Project. The project was commenced in 1988 and came to an end in the middle of 1992. The project was designed to produce a nation-wide curriculum for the teaching of Indonesian in Australian primary and secondary schools. South Australia had responsibility for Stages A and B for the primary schools and the Northern Territory for Stages 1-5 for secondary schools. The curriculum was developed according to the ALL Guidelines. Along with the curriculum, resource materials have also been produced which include teachers' handbooks, student resource books, teacher resource sheets, audio tapes, a photo pack, Indonesian map and a video. The resource materials were trialled in schools in all States of Australia, and, as the present report goes to press, have now been published by Curriculum Corporation under the title *Suara Siswa. National Curriculum Guidelines for Indonesian*. They will hopefully be a valuable resource for teachers nation-wide who are in need of both the curriculum and resource materials to translate the important policy, curriculum and syllabus initiatives which State and Territory governments have taken into classroom programs.

As we have noted, the National Indonesian Curriculum Program was based upon the ALL Guidelines which have also been important in their influence on the context of curriculum and syllabus developments for teaching languages other than English in all Australian States and Territories. Ingram, in his interim report to the Asian Studies Council on the national Chinese, Indonesian and Japanese curriculum projects, claimed that the principal strength of the Indonesian curriculum and materials at that stage in their development was the highly practical nature of their content, the activities proposed and the fact that they had gone a long way towards identifying those linguistic elements (functions, notions, syntax, vocabulary, etc) which were appropriate at different stages in the learning process. Their most serious limitation was their failure to take into account the notion of proficiency and its implications for the specification of language content in the description of activities and assessment. Ingram was particularly concerned with one implication of this failure to take on board the notion of proficiency. Whatever implications this omission had for appropriateness of categories of activities, dimensions of language use and stages

of language learning, it left the arduous work of creating programs involving the selection, sequencing, contextualisation, and the re-cycling of language elements and their integration with activities and themes almost entirely to the teacher. This, Ingram argued, was beyond the capacity of many teachers of language in Australia, especially teachers of Asian languages recently thrust into the field to try to meet the demand in schools for these languages. He considered that for teachers to be able to take on such responsibility, they required a higher level of proficiency in the language than was the average in Australia and a theoretical and methodological training which few language teachers were given in pre-service courses of teacher training (Ingram 1992:10-17, 47-8, 50, 59).

These comments of Ingram have found an echo in the responses of teachers to the teachers' survey conducted for the present project. It is clear that many teachers feel themselves under pressure because of the very significant new initiatives which are taking place in the teaching of Indonesian/Malay across the country. Respondents to the survey praised highly new communicative coursebooks such as *Ayo!* and White's *Bahasa Tetanggaku*, the latter of which is widely used in the Australia. However, teachers clearly place a high priority on the need to develop new and better resources to teach the new syllabuses. The needs are of course various. At the primary level there is a dearth of materials apart from the LOTE Indonesian Kits created by the Queensland Ministry of Education. In New South Wales teachers of Year 12 lack adequate resources to teach the contemporary issues component of the senior syllabus. In Victoria, teachers of Year 12 point out that they are expected to teach students a range of discourse forms but do not themselves have access to sufficient materials to do so. Teachers also point out that there are very few videos or films available for the teaching of the language. Those that are available are very out of date. There is a need both for high calibre video material for teaching Indonesian/Malay, of a standard comparable with that available for teaching French and German, and there is a need to produce contemporary, informative documentaries pitched at the Australian teenager. Brown and McKay have also argued that teachers, if they are to teach the language in a way that provides students with a contemporary and accurate picture of Indonesia, must have access to current Indonesian materials in the form of newspapers, magazines and journals. They suggested the purchase of between four to six publications which include a daily newspaper such as *Kompas*, a weekly current affairs magazine like *Tempo*, teenage magazines like *Hai* and *Mode*, a general interest magazine such as *Indonesian Magazine* and a social and political affairs journal like *Prisma*. It was probably impossible that every school could subscribe to such a range of magazines. However, they could be made available in State or university libraries, or by the curriculum resource sections of State and Territory departments of education (Brown and McKay 1991:26, 29, 40). Teachers have also signalled the lack of availability of computer software packages for teaching Indonesian, apart from those produced by Yolanda Albina at Daramalan College in Canberra.

5.3.1.8 Coursebooks and teaching materials

Clearly, then, the changes in curriculum and syllabuses, assuming a shift in the methodology of teaching languages to a functional-notional or communicative model, have given rise once again to a need in the Indonesian/Malay classroom for new teaching materials. These new materials can no longer just be coursebooks or even audio or video tapes. They must now also include computer programs and make use of other new technologies, enabling more flexible programs for learning languages and the introduction of an element of self-management in learning the language. We noted above that some new coursebooks addressing the requirements of the new syllabuses for Indonesian/Malay had been written in recent years. Indeed, in retrospect, it is possible to see signs of a modest resurgence of interest in methods of teaching Indonesian/Malay around 1985, with the foundation of *Pelangi* and the three articles in *Babel* (see Chapter 4). But it was not until 1988 that a major new coursebook was published. This was Ian J. White's *Bahasa Tetanggaku Stage One*, based on functional-notional methodology. Exactly 20 years after *Lantjar Berbahasa Indonesia* had announced a new methodological orientation, White signalled that the newer orientations that had transformed European language courses and teaching practices earlier in the 1980s had belatedly made their appearance in a published coursebook for Indonesian/Malay.

Bahasa Tetanggaku is one of at least seven new titles that have appeared in the period between 1988 and 1992, most of them readers, but also including *Ayo!*, the second major new coursebook in this period of renewed activity. Most of these new publications claimed to be communicative in their methodological orientation. They were for schools and not for adults. *Bahasa Tetanggaku* was published in a relatively elaborate format of three coursebooks, with student workbooks and sets of cassettes, covering Stages One to Three. The package was published over the period 1988 to 1990. As with the Hendrata course of 1969, the coursebook's subtitle announced its methodology: 'a notional-functional course in Bahasa Indonesia'. The author's note explains:

As language teaching strategies and methodologies continue to evolve, it becomes necessary to develop texts and courses which are appropriate for use with the chosen approach. The functional or communicative approach has, in recent years, earned wide acceptance and acclaim through its success in the teaching of languages, notably European languages, but has not been extensively used in the teaching of Indonesian ... *Bahasa Tetanggaku* is a notional-functional course designed to meet the needs of teachers wishing to use a communicative approach ...

... [it] seeks to provide basic communication skills in Indonesian by developing specific language functions which are commonly used in real situations and for real purposes in everyday Indonesian life. Real situations are simulated in the classroom through a good deal of paired and group conversation and role play (Author's Note, *Coursebook Stage One*).

The contents page is laid out on a grid, displaying language functions, grammar points and topic. For example, the language functions for the fourth chapter, on the topic shopping, are :

- Colours
- Asking about price
- Identifying objects
- Expressing surprise and shock
- Bargaining: Offering a price
- Refusing a price
- Agreeing on a price
- Describing quality
- Comparing two objects
- Comparing more than two objects
- Indicating wants and needs
- Transport
- Personal language: my chores.

Stages Two and Three continue the same basic pattern of organisation, in which the coursebook is divided into seven conversation topics, each presenting situations considered likely to be encountered by students in the Indonesian context. For each topic there is a core reading, leading to explanations of language functions and grammar points, using a range of formats (photos, cartoons, voice bubbles, line drawings) and exploiting the possibilities of layout. In Stages Two and Three, the list of language functions is more detailed, and there is a larger grammatical component.

The coursebooks present the explanatory materials, with the exercises contained in the student workbooks. While several exercise types are quite traditional (true/false, fill-in, transformation, listening comprehension, reading tests, crosswords) the communicative focus is found in group activities (games, surveys, interviews, acting out), which begin with instructions such as 'arrange yourselves into small groups', 'working with a partner ...', and 'working with a friend ...'. The functions are also tested with 'can-do' checklists towards the end of topics, where students undergo a threefold assessment of their competence in producing functions: self-assessment, assessment by a friend, and assessment by a teacher.

The liveliest coursebook ever produced for Indonesian/Malay is actually an Indonesian version of a format which appeared for the first time in a junior high school Italian text. This text, *Avanti!*, which appeared in 1982, made lavish use of colour, full-page cartoon formats, interesting layouts, jazzy action-filled photos, realia and aspects of teenage life. The core format was used for a French version, *Ça bouge*, published in 1988, and a Japanese version, *Kimono*, first published in 1990. A German language version is planned for 1993. The producers, CIS Publishers, see the format as evolving with each new coursebook, as communicative methodology becomes more developed, and through regular interaction with language teachers. The main change has been the increasing emphasis on communicative activities or tasks. *Ayo!* appeared in 1991, and *Ayo! 2* in 1992. As with *Bahasa Tetanggaku*, there is an elaborate package. In the case of *Ayo!*, there are coursebooks, workbooks, teacher's manual, cassettes and a series of four graded readers.

The teacher's manual for *Ayo!* proposes a cumulative approach to language teaching methodology:

The *Ayo!* course represents an attempt to blend a functional, activity-based course with the most valuable elements of the grammatical, audio-lingual/-visual, and functional/notional methods. Rather than commit you to a narrow methodological path, we have endeavoured to offer a comprehensive range of approaches. We believe that this is the most realistic and helpful interpretation of 'communicative approach' (*Teacher's Manual*, p. 1).

The *Teacher's Manual* emphasises 'a fun approach to teaching and learning' and provides 118 pages of support material for the first book alone, including explanation of the method, classroom techniques, directions for use, explanations in terms of the ALL Guidelines, as well as test, exercise and cartoon story sheets for photocopying.

The coursebook explains that 'the overriding aim of *Ayo!* is to have students use the language to communicate with each other' and that 'it is important to the *Ayo!* method that grammatical explanations remain subservient to this essential communicative purpose'. The contents of each of the eight chapters, or 'steps' (*langkah*), could be laid out in a grid similar to that of *Bahasa Tetanggaku*, under four headings:

1. communicative tasks
2. situations and vocabulary
3. cultural and linguistic background
4. language points.

Activities are organised in steps from the core cartoon story, through a progression of speaking activities from more to less structured.

The '*Avanti!* formula' is obvious on every page — the brightly coloured cartoons, lively photos, up-to-date language, multicultural student names, teenage lifestyles. It is also a very trendy Indonesia that is being presented. Rather than the solemn and reverential attitude to 'culture' of previous publications, this is a course where Indonesians drink Coca Cola, eat Burger King and like Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles. The question mark hanging over *Ayo!* in 1992 is whether Books 3 and 4 will indeed be produced. Teachers will be reluctant to buy a series that caters only for junior high school.

At least five readers (eight titles) have appeared since 1988. These are McGarry and Sumarjono, *Bersenang-senang* (1988), Partoredjo, *Bacaan Bahasa Indonesia Moderen* (1989), George Quinn, *Hidup Berwarna* (1989), McGarry and Winarto, *Varia* (1990), and four *Ayo!* readers: *Komplotan; Di mana rumahmu, Daryo?; Laura, kamu keterlaluan; George, kamu seorang juara!* (1991-92).

The readers also demonstrate the degree to which methodological emphases have changed. The Quinn reader *Hidup Berwarna* is the most traditional. It contains 21 literary pieces, including short stories, extracts from novels, and poems. But this is not the older orientation that saw literature as the major or 'natural' source of reading materials. This is a deliberate 'attempt to narrow the

gap between learner and literature' (p. 1). The pieces are rewritten in simplified language and are organised thematically into four categories: Resistance and Revolution, Poverty and Wealth, Country and City, and Women and Men. And each piece is followed by four categories of exercises:

- a. The story as a part of history and society
- b. The story as literature
- c. The story as ideas
- d. Rewriting and acting the story.

Thus in the case of this reader, the exercises lead towards speech and active use of the language, in debates, role-plays, and dramas.

Each of the other readers is also oriented towards communicative methods. The *Ayo!* readers form part of the overall package of activities. The *Partoredjo* reader has an introduction recommending activities to stimulate communication. And *Bersenang-senang* and *Varia* are both based on the current enthusiasm for real-life texts of a lively, popular nature, drawing on advertisements, short paragraphs and cartoons, and reproducing a number in colour. The key shared elements are the emphasis on authentic materials, an eye for interest, and the claim to set reading within a wider communicative framework.

Beyond these published coursebooks and readers, other important initiatives have been taken in each of the States and Territories to provide resources for teaching the language. Again no attempt has been made to provide an exhaustive description of all that has been and is being done. We noted above that Indonesian teachers in Victoria reported that the development of Indonesian language programs based on the new Indonesian Study Design for the Victorian Certificate of Education which is to be examined for the first time in 1992 had presented some difficulties. Teachers have found it especially difficult to collect authentic materials for the various discourse forms. Country teachers especially do not have easy access to resources that can more readily be obtained in the city or through the networking of local teachers. In the absence of any substantial funding for this purpose beyond the provision of four relief days for teachers to write materials for distribution to colleagues, teachers have had to produce the necessary support materials for the teaching and assessing the new course. This has taken place in voluntary workshop groups. Most of the organisational direction for the writing of materials has come from the Victorian Indonesian Language Teachers Association. It has obtained and distributed magazines and has organised writing days when 30 to 40 teachers have met to develop materials. It is reported that the teachers feel more confident working in groups where they are able to pool ideas and jointly interpret the guidelines of the Study Design. These workshop sessions have produced units of work based on the Design, as well as suitable assessment task materials for the externally-set and in-school common assessment tasks.

In the ACT there have been a number of projects which have contributed to the resources available there for teaching Indonesian. As far back as 1988 tutor groups in Indonesian for teachers were organised and continue on a fortnightly basis. The groups make use of native speakers of Indonesian and discussion is organised on suitable topics for classroom work, according to teachers' needs. The Indonesian Language Teachers' Association conducted a survey and compiled a

bibliography of the material resources held by individual teachers, schools and libraries in the ACT. This was done in order to facilitate the sharing of materials. Two part-time teachers of Indonesian were employed on a casual basis to survey all teachers of Indonesian and to write up the results. A teachers' training course was held in Canberra in 1989 in collaboration with the University of Canberra to train potential teachers of Asian languages. This course included several Indonesian teachers. Another valuable project worthy of mention involved co-operation between the Department of Education in the ACT and the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia to produce an audio cassette tape of 30 songs with translations of the songs and transcription of the music. This cassette is to be sent to all schools teaching Indonesian in the ACT when completed.

Teachers in New South Wales have produced resource materials for teaching Indonesian at primary and secondary level. This has been done at conferences or in-service workshops making use of funds provided by the New South Wales Department of Education, the Asian Studies Council or the Australian Second Language Learning Program. Much has also been created through the initiative of teachers themselves in the context of meetings organised by the New South Wales Indonesian Teachers Association or its parent organisation, the Modern Language Teachers Association. Some were the result of the participation of New South Wales teachers in the Teaching Indonesian as a Foreign Language course at the Intensive Course in Indonesian Language and Culture at Satya Wacana University in 1989-90. In 1989, 1990 and 1991 the following teaching units have been prepared to supplement the available texts for the new junior and senior syllabuses in New South Wales. For the Junior Syllabus there are available *Macam Macam*, a collection of authentic materials, worksheets, quizzes, games, puzzles, pictures, etc, for each of the twelve junior syllabus topics; *Siapapun*, a unit on the topic 'Personal Description' aimed at the level of Years 7 and 8; *Remaja*, a unit for Year 9 on youth in Indonesia and Australia based on the ALL Guidelines and covering a range of activities suitable for teenagers, including authentic materials, pop songs, pair work, games, and quizzes; *Pencak-Silat*, a teaching unit for Year 9-10 level, based on the martial art/dance form and using selected speech functions and grammar topics; *Rumah*, an illustrated descriptive unit on the house and home in Indonesia for Years 8 and 9; and *Games*, a variety of language learning games adapted for Indonesian. For the Senior Syllabus, the following resources have been prepared and are available. *Peranan Wanita* is a complete unit on the topic of the role of women in contemporary Indonesia. It focuses on all four macro skills and is designed for Senior 2 and 3 Unit classes in New South Wales and is related to the syllabus options Songs and Contemporary Writing. *The Environment* is a collection of articles and resources in both Indonesian and English on the Contemporary Issues topic of the senior syllabus and contains some suggested learning strategies. Finally, for the Song Option, a collection of notes and questions on each of the selected songs for 1992 Higher School Certificate examination has been prepared.

In South Australia, where the National Indonesian Language Curriculum Project is in part based, innovative use is being made of radio broadcasts. The Department of Education in conjunction with Radio 5EBI-FM has developed programs in several languages including Indonesian. In Queensland, apart from the LOTE Kit which has been mentioned above, a team from Asian and International Studies at Griffith University, headed by Dr Geoff Woollams,

with a grant from the Australian Second Language Learning Program and the Asian Studies Council, has produced a listening skills kit, *Mari Dengarkan*, for the Department of Education. It comprises four cassettes which contain aural comprehension passages and an accompanying booklet. There are some hundred passages in the form of short dialogues on themes and situations appropriate to the needs and interests of young learners of the language. Each situation is provided with dialogues at three levels, graded from basic to more difficult so that the kit can be used at different stages of learning. The language of the dialogues is colloquially appropriate to the specific situations and spoken by native speakers of the language. Notes on language and culture, vocabulary and sample comprehension questions have all been provided.

Finally it is important that we take note here of two other projects. The first is a project designed to develop a proficiency rating scale for Indonesian as a Second Language. The project, being undertaken by the Centre for Applied Linguistics and Languages at Griffith University, is part of the larger project, Teaching Indonesian as a Foreign Language, funded by the Language and Literacy Branch of the Department of Employment, Education and Training. The proficiency rating scale is one for use with adult and adolescent learners of Indonesian and will be based upon the Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ASLPR) which was initially published in 1979 and has been widely used with many languages. As well as the new scale, which will have been formally validated, project outcomes will include a set of materials for use in the direct approach characteristically used in testing learners with ASLPR and guidelines for the use of the scale, including its application to syllabus development and other issues beyond assessment. The project was originally planned to begin in 1992 and end in mid 1992. The second project, Reading Indonesian, is a project at the Northern Territory University, headed by Dr George Quinn and supported by the Department of Employment, Education and Training with a grant of \$99,000. Planned to begin in 1993 and to be completed by the end of 1994, the project will provide authentic Indonesian reading materials for classroom use but in a form which is accessible to students in Years 9-12 in Australian high schools. The materials, designed to be compatible with the National Indonesian Curriculum Project, are not for conventional comprehension exercises or for vocabulary building *per se*, but provide relevant and interesting starting points for classroom activities such as discussions, role-plays and debates. The materials will be drawn from novels, short stories, comic strips, news reports, letters and magazine human interest features. The issues to be covered include sport, the environment, mass media, personal relations, and Indonesian views of Australia. This project is very much in the spirit of Quinn's earlier *Hidup Berwarna*.

5.3.1.9 Conclusion: schools

We can in general terms be very positive about developments which have taken place in the teaching and learning of Indonesian/Malay in Australian schools between 1986 and 1992. The numbers of students learning the language have increased quite dramatically, especially in primary schools and in the lower secondary school. The gender profile of students studying Indonesian/Malay suggests that equal numbers of boys and girls are learning the language at all levels of schooling, and it would seem that the problems created in the past by mixes of background speakers and second language learners have been resolved at least for the moment. No doubt, the new policy environment with respect to teaching languages other than English created around the adoption of the National Policy on Languages and public discussion of the economic rationale for the learning of languages, especially the languages of Australia's northern neighbours in Asia, have been instrumental in once again stimulating interest in the learning of Indonesian/Malay in Australian schools. The new policies have also stimulated Commonwealth, State and Territory governments to redesign school curricula to provide better for the study of languages at both primary and secondary levels, to rewrite syllabuses so that they are consistent with the new communicative methodology of teaching languages, and to develop strategies which hold the promise of ensuring continuity of study of the language between primary and secondary school and between the lower and upper secondary schools. We have also entered a period when the development of new materials for teaching Indonesian/Malay has begun again. Some of these new teaching materials have come from the funding initiatives of government, but much too has been done on the initiative of teachers themselves, whether working as individuals or in groups as they have prepared classroom programs compatible with the requirements of the new syllabuses. We have provided evidence also of the existence of a core of qualified and experienced teachers of the language, many of whom have first hand experience of life in Indonesia and Malaysia and some of whom, over the years and at their own expense, have taken the opportunity to attend in-country courses to upgrade their proficiency in the language.

Considerable sums of public money have been involved in all this. We think here of the National Indonesian Language Curriculum Project, the funding of the development of a proficiency scale based upon the ASLPR, the new project for the development of reading materials for schools at the Northern Territory University, and the project for the design and implementation of a program for teaching Indonesian in cluster schools, co-ordinated at Ravenswood High School in Launceston, to mention only the largest projects. In many cases it has also been government funding which has made it possible for teachers to attend intensive language courses in Indonesia, providing them with the opportunity to upgrade their language proficiency and to experience Indonesia first hand. In this sense at least the teaching of Indonesian/Malay has not been better served by government since the days when it was first introduced into the Australian National University and the Universities of Melbourne and Sydney in the mid 1950s.

If there is reason for optimism, there is also reason for concern. While the numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay have been increasing, the total

numbers of students studying languages other than English has remained but a small proportion of all school students, and those studying Indonesian/Malay but a small proportion of those studying languages. It is true that the number of students of Indonesian/Malay has been rising in the primary schools and lower secondary schools but numbers learning the language in the senior high school remain disappointingly small. The low enrolment at the latter level is significant because it would seem that it is here that students and their parents are making important decisions about their future education and careers; at this point, too, the proficiency which second language learners have achieved in Indonesian/Malay still falls far short of that required in the workplace. Of concern also are the disappointingly small numbers studying Indonesian/Malay in New South Wales, especially at the primary level. Here the difference with Victoria, where a very substantial gain in numbers has been recorded in recent years, is quite remarkable. One might have expected that the numbers of students of Indonesian/Malay in these two States would have been more comparable, given the history of teaching the subject in both States, their population size, the importance of both States to the Australian economy and the priority status which the study of Indonesian/Malay has been accorded in both.

However, perhaps the greatest reason for concern is the ambivalence in the Australian community towards the value of languages other than English and to Indonesian/Malay in particular. Leal *et al.* have pointed out the brash monoculturalism and persistent monolingualism that are characteristic of influential sections of Australian society, and Ingleson has pointed to the Eurocentrism of Australian education. Public opinion polls in the late 1980s, while they provide some evidence of an appreciation of the study of languages in Australian education, certainly do not give us reason to believe that the study of languages other than English enjoys a high priority in the educational order of things. The business community is still far from convinced that knowledge of the languages and cultures of Australia's business partners is essential to their successful penetration of markets and investment overseas. And students, too, do not appear to have made up their minds that languages are important to their future careers. Those who do study languages and want to use the languages which they know in their career appear still to tend to want or expect to find careers as school teachers. On the other hand those students who do not study languages and want careers in business appear to regard proficiency in languages to be irrelevant. Indonesia, whatever the official government to government relationship might be, is, especially in the minds of middle class educated Australians, a major security threat, the focus of strong moral condemnation because of human rights abuses, a potential source of Asian immigration, a country of uncertain value to the future of Australia and, specifically in terms of trade and investment, not one of Australia's major trading partners. For most business people Indonesia is largely a closed book. At the very best, Indonesia is for many Australians, a pleasant tourist destination. As we have suggested, these attitudes toward Indonesia are not recent. They have deep historical roots in Australian society.

For whatever reasons Australians find such attitudes acceptable, these views of Indonesia are, in the long term, quite untenable and damaging to Australia's own self interests. Indonesia is not a present threat to Australia's security. In a situation in which Australia can no longer depend on the protection of great English-speaking allies, there is much of mutual advantage to be achieved from

diplomatic and strategic co-operation between Indonesia and Australia. Nor are all Indonesians responsible for those actions which have brought charges of human rights abuse. There are indeed many Indonesians who disapprove of what has happened. Australia no longer has any special economic ties with Great Britain, and in recent times it has become clear that the United States of America cannot always be relied upon to adopt economic policies which do not damage the Australian economy. However great poverty in Indonesia might be and however much Indonesia might still be regarded as a developing nation, its economy has grown over the past two decades at rates which can only be dreamt of in Australia at the present time. There are undoubtedly opportunities there for trade and investment which are of mutual benefit to both countries. Australians ought to be more realistically aware of these, as they ought to be aware of the potential in the arts, in education, on the question of the environment, in tourism and in the areas of consultancies and technological services for greater interchange with Indonesia. Australians in general need to become more realistically aware of the parameters of a total relationship between the two nations. Above all they ought not to assume that the relationship is fixed once and for all within its present parameters. The dramatic changes in the world in recent times would seem to make such a view uncontroversial. Australia can only make its way in the world as a small nation. We need to develop attitudes and strategies in our dealings with the rest of the world which are appropriate to such a standing. Amongst many other things, getting 'clever' as a small nation means learning to use the languages of other people and enjoying all the advantages of doing so in our dealings with them.

In the context of a broadening and more complex relationship between Australia and Indonesia, it would seem uncontroversial to argue that increasing numbers of Australians in all walks of life who have high levels of linguistic proficiency in Indonesian/Malay and knowledge of Indonesian culture and society will have increasingly important roles to play in the relationship. Another way of saying the same thing is that there must be real jobs at the end of the line. Leal *et al.* pointed out that it is importantly but not exclusively the responsibility of the education sector to manage the re-orientation in Australian culture which would make this first imaginable and then make it happen. If changes of this order are involved, languages cannot be left in the classroom, where they have been for much of their official history in Australia. If those Australians who are uncertain that a proficiency in Indonesian/Malay is at all important to the relationship between the two countries are to be convinced that it is indeed so, then experience of the advantages of its use in daily life must become more commonplace than it is. In this context, what goes on in the language classroom in schools is crucially important. Students must learn to communicate successfully and interpret what is said in the language of another culture. To achieve this there are several prerequisites.

To teach a language successfully requires time. Students must be able to study the language continuously for a certain number of hours over a period of years and to do so regularly and intensively. Such a regime also requires an adequate supply of teachers trained to teach the language, strategies to ensure that the student can continue to study the language across different levels of education and, vitally, experience using the language outside the language classroom. In the case of Indonesian/Malay, there is a core of trained and experienced teachers available. However, evidence of a shortage of trained teachers, particularly at

the primary level in some States, exists at the present time, and, certainly, unless measures are taken to train new teachers, the shortage is likely to become more acute if numbers of students continue to increase as they have done in recent years. It certainly seems that many trained and experienced teachers of the language are calling for the support of expert language consultants who know Indonesian/Malay and for professional development training to assist them to prepare classroom programs and materials compatible with the communicative method. They also need to improve and maintain their proficiency in Indonesian/Malay. While training in the new methodology might be organised by expert language consultants in the form of in-service courses, upgrading teachers' proficiency in the language ought to be provided on a regular basis and is clearly best done in-country. Where this is not possible, however, intensive courses in Australia should be made available. Use of the language outside the language classroom might be organised in a number of ways: through contact with members of the Indonesian-speaking community here in Australia, in language immersion programs such as the one at Roeville college in Victoria and through study trips to Indonesia. At the present time, there are few immersion programs in Indonesian/Malay and there is still much to be done to expand the contacts between schools, teachers and students in Australia and Indonesia through organised school visits to Indonesia, teacher and student exchanges and sister-school arrangements. Even in the area of curriculum and materials development, where so much is occurring at the present time, costs and lack of expertise threaten to inhibit the full exploitation of existing technology and leave the subject languishing in the wake of other languages better positioned to take advantage of these new technologies. The present dearth of high quality, visually interesting video material, computer software and integrated multimedia programs for Indonesian/Malay is likely to continue. And here it must be remembered that, outside of Indonesia and Malaysia, there is nowhere else in the world where Indonesian/Malay is taught so widely in schools as in Australia. Consequently any commercially based development of sophisticated teaching materials will be restricted by the small market.

5.3.2 Higher education

5.3.2.1 Introduction

Above it has been noted that, significantly, it has been in a climate of opinion largely ordered by ambitions and anxieties about economic prosperity, and the attempts of governments both to establish clear vocational goals for Australian education and to integrate the Australian economy with the economies of the Asia-Pacific region, that the numbers of school students studying Indonesian/Malay have increased rapidly. As in schools so in institutions of higher education, the numbers studying Indonesian/Malay have grown in the period between 1987 and 1992. In 1988, Indonesian/Malay was the sixth most studied language in higher education in this country, and one of six languages which were taken by 77.9% of students of languages at this level. In this year, however, only 0.59% of total undergraduate student load (EFTSU) in universities and colleges of advanced education was studying Asian languages and of these

students, only 9.59% were taking Indonesian/Malay compared with 64.48% and 21.98% who were studying Japanese and Chinese respectively (see Chapter 2). In 1990 Leal *et al.* reported that only 1.888% of total student load (EFTSU) in higher education was enrolled to study languages other than English. In this year, despite the fact that Indonesian/Malay was the fourth most widely available language in institutions of higher education, it was only the seventh most studied language, taken by just 0.1% of student load. Yet it was still one of eight languages studied by 92.7% of students taking languages other than English in Australian higher education. Whatever the position of Indonesian/Malay in relation to other languages in higher education, the numbers of students studying the language have risen steadily between 1988 when there were 200 EFTSUs and 1992 when they numbered 502 EFTSUs.

We have also noted above that the heads of departments teaching Indonesian/Malay in institutions of higher education acknowledged the importance of new Commonwealth and State government policies affecting the study of languages and the study of Asia. These policies, and the reports associated with them, created a positive environment in which to promote the study of the language in higher education. Moreover, it would seem these same policies and reports have also, in one way or another, influenced the rationale for teaching Indonesian/Malay in Australian universities. Responses to the project's survey of heads of departments teaching the language were by no means uniform in this respect. Some departments emphasised the benefits to the nation, and others, those for the individual. Some couched their rationale in general terms, mentioning the economic, geo-political, demographic, and cultural significance of Indonesia, situated just to the north of Australia, while others explained their courses more pragmatically as attempts to teach a working knowledge of Indonesian/Malay and skills in learning and adapting to a new cultural environment. Yet others had their attention more on the specifics of the style of language teaching and its educational linkages with other programs of study in tertiary institutions. It would seem that the response to government policies, at the level of the departments teaching Indonesian/Malay, are very much dependent on local circumstances and the particular educational and intellectual horizons of staff members in different institutions.⁶⁶

5.3.2.2 Language study across the divide: school to university

Leal *et al.* acknowledged the effect on student enrolments of the perception that the learning of languages other than English was a long and complex process. In the absence of any compulsory requirement for languages to enter higher education, which they described as the 'single most important factor in the relative decline of language learning at the secondary and tertiary levels', Leal *et al.* argued that students seeking entrance to higher education had turned to other subjects perceived to be less difficult in order to maximise their aggregate marks. They also pointed out that students perceived that mark scaling and the

⁶⁶ The comment to which this footnote is attached was based on responses to a question in the universities survey of the present project which asked heads of departments, 'What rationale or educational policy informs the Indonesian/Malaysian language course(s) which you teach?' Fourteen of the 21 departments surveyed answered the question.

presence of native speakers had exacerbated the disadvantage which derived from the inherent difficulty which they associated with the study of languages. This situation meant that relatively few students entered higher education sufficiently well equipped to commence the study of languages at anything other than the level of beginners' courses. Both Ingleson and Leal *et al.*, like others before them, recognised the importance of the link between the situation of teaching languages in school and in higher education. Ingleson documented the relationship in the case of those students studying Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian/Malay in 1989. Some 30% of students studying Japanese, 78% of those studying Chinese and 69% of those studying Indonesian/Malay in first year at university in this year had studied languages at school (Ingleson 1989 I:144). This situation had two important consequences. In the first place only those students who had studied languages at school entered higher education with a level of proficiency in a language which would allow them to achieve levels of proficiency on graduation which approached those adequate for use in the work place. In the second place, those who chose to begin the study of languages at university not only faced the heavy workloads attached to beginners' courses but also had little prospect of achieving a level of proficiency which they would require in the work place (Leal *et al.* 1991 I:xxxiv, 126-7).

Above we noted that both Ingleson and Leal *et al.* believed that the study of languages other than English ought to be available to all students in schools. Despite their advocacy of the benefits of language study neither Leal *et al.* nor Ingleson recommended the immediate reintroduction of a compulsory language requirement for entrance to higher education. Leal *et al.*, however, did believe that language learning was in the process of becoming compulsory again, and considered that in the long term there should be a compulsory language requirement for entrance into higher education. In the meantime they were of the view that some loading should be given to university entrance scores for languages other than English in the manner adopted at Melbourne and Monash universities (Leal *et al.* 1991 I:126, 128, 184). Nicholas *et al.* also recognised the 'severe blow' dealt to enrolments in languages other than English by the abolition of compulsory language requirements for entry to institutions of higher education. They were, however, opposed to their re-introduction. To do so could only create resentment in the general community, grown accustomed to an educational environment where encouragement of and reward for effort and not compulsion was accepted as the norm (Nicholas *et al.* 1993:197-198). As we have seen, they did, however, suggest other strategies for dealing with the situation in which the combined effects of the disincentive to the study of languages created by the scaling of marks in examinations at the end of Year 12 were reinforced by the procedures for entry into tertiary education. They argued that the acceptance of flexible entry points to tertiary courses, not just in the area of languages, but in other subjects as well, would permit language study to be integrated in a wider variety of study programs. This and the wider acceptance of double degree programs, also recommended by Leal *et al.* (1991 I:87), would create a better interface between a desirable balance of breadth and specialisation in the final years of schooling and prerequisites for tertiary study, and recognise the important contribution which the study of languages had for a broad range of disciplines in higher education. They were also in support of the award of bonus points for language study for entry to tertiary institutions or particular faculties, which we have seen Leal *et al.* favoured (Nicholas *et al.* 1993:184-187).

5.3.2.3 Time and language study

Staff in language departments acknowledged that workloads and low levels of proficiency were products of the fact that there were too few hours available for language study in normal undergraduate courses. The normally available 540 hours were far too few to achieve even a basic command of a second language (720 hours in the case of languages like French, German and Italian, 1,140 in the case of Indonesian/Malay and 2,400 in the case of Arabic, Chinese and Japanese).⁶⁷ Attempts have been made in some institutions to address this issue. Some have introduced intensive courses or intensive elements into courses and there were others where four year degree programs, with one year spent preferably in-country, had been established. Ingleson noted the existence of intensive courses for Asian languages held in the long vacation in Australia and in-country. Nicholas *et al.* also underlined the importance of in-country experience which they argued was the best means of providing teachers and students with the experience of using the languages they taught and learned. In general, however, the attendant costs to institutions and students alike were serious obstacles to the widespread adoption of such measures (Leal *et al.* 1991:127, 129-30). Attempts to increase the numbers of hours available to intensify the teaching of languages have also been inhibited by the regime of normal degree courses. Despite obvious differences in the nature of language learning compared with other areas of teaching in higher education, contact hours and the length of degrees for language subjects were expected to be comparable with other subjects (Leal *et al.* 1991 I:127, 129-30; Ingleson 1989 I:113-5, 151-2, 180).

In the case of Indonesian/Malay in particular, the survey sent to heads of departments did not raise directly the question of hours allocated to the study of the language. Nor did heads of department themselves raise this question specifically when asked to prioritise those factors which they considered were specifically promoting or inhibiting the study of Indonesian/Malay in their institutions. Departments, however, have not been content to work within the time constraints which degree structures presently impose upon language courses and they have sought ways to address the problems created by such constraints on time by creating the possibility of study of the language in-country and a number of heads of departments mentioned such possibilities when responding to the survey sent to them.

The Australian National University is a good example of developments of this sort. In 1992 a new four/five year degree of Bachelor of Indonesian Studies was approved which requires students to spend one year in Indonesia. The in-country provision for this degree is facilitated by a memorandum of understanding between the Australian National University and Gajah Mada University in Indonesia. Students studying Indonesian as part of other degrees at the Australian National University can also obtain credit for shorter periods of intensive in-country study of the language by attending the Indonesian Summer School in Indonesia held under the auspices of an agreement between Monash University and Gajah Mada University. The Centre for Continuing Education at the Australian National University also provides an Intensive Indonesian Summer Course in Canberra for students from all over Australia. The Australian

⁶⁷ These figures are quoted in Ingleson 1989 I:113

National University is not alone in making such provision for intensive and in-country training for its students. Murdoch University too has similar arrangements in a sister-state relationship between Western Australia and the Indonesian Province of East Java. Arrangements at Murdoch provide for its students to study at the IKIP Malang in East Java. Murdoch also has arrangements in place for its students to study at Gajah Mada University and at the University of Science in Penang in Malaysia. The Northern Territory University under a memorandum of co-operation with Nusa Cendana University (Kupang) and Pattimura University (Ambon) also provides a program to teach its students in Indonesia. The oldest arrangement of this kind is the one which exists between the University of Sydney and Satya Wacana University in Salatiga, Central Java. The Intensive Course in Indonesian Language and Culture which has been run under this agreement has long provided an opportunity for students to study Indonesian in-country. While in the past credit has occasionally been granted to students attending the course, from 1994 a new six-week course, designed specifically for this purpose, will be credited to degrees at the University of Sydney, Griffith University in Queensland and other institutions on demand. A new departure under this same agreement is a new Contemporary Indonesia Program for a four-week course on the economic development, government and politics and cultural change in Indonesia. The course, to be taught initially in English, is available to be credited to undergraduate and postgraduate degrees at the University of Sydney from 1994. La Trobe is also understood to have signed formal agreements with Indonesian universities to provide for staff and student exchange, and the University of Tasmania is also negotiating a similar arrangement with the IKIP in Bandung.

These initiatives to create the infrastructure to make it possible for students of Indonesian/Malay to study in Indonesia and Malaysia are of enormous significance. There could be no better way for students to attain a high level of proficiency in the language and to experience the culture of Indonesia and Malaysia first hand. Clearly there are areas of employment which require persons with these skills and experience and it must become increasingly possible to provide Australians with the opportunity to study in Indonesia and Malaysia. The greatest single problem in the way of students studying in-country is the financial support available for the enterprise. At present a limited number of scholarships have been made available by Department of Employment Education and Training, the Australia-Indonesia Institute and by individual State and Territory governments. The provision of these must continue into the future and the schemes under which they operate must be expanded to provide adequate support for periods of up to one year. It must become quite normal for those who require a high level of proficiency in Indonesian/Malay in employment to have studied for a year in Indonesia or Malaysia. While the expansion of courses for Australians to study Indonesian/Malay in-country is to be encouraged, there is perhaps danger that too great a duplication of such courses will create small, costly and academically weak programs. As has happened in the United States, there is perhaps a role here for a consortium of Australian universities. There is certainly a need for the Australian Government to establish some official formal framework with the governments of Indonesia and Malaysia under which in-country training might take place, facilitating the running of courses, the issuing of visas, and the allocation of places in Indonesian and Malaysian universities.

5.3.2.4 Varieties of proficiencies and streaming

By the late 1980s, opposition to beginners' courses in languages other than English in universities had definitely become a thing of the past and many language departments catered for beginners by streaming their courses or providing programs which catered for individualised learning. However, both Ingleson and Leal *et al.* reported that the special courses or streams for beginners were still not universally available. The problem, at least in the case of Asian languages, was one of inadequate levels of staffing (Ingleson 1989 I:115). Where there was no streaming, groupings of beginners, those with prior knowledge of a language gained at school and even those with varying degrees of native-speaker proficiency were gathered in the same course. Ingleson noted that this was particularly a problem in the case of Chinese and Indonesian/Malay in institutions of higher education where the proportion of background speakers was in some instances as high as 50%. This seriously jeopardised hopes of teaching modern languages successfully (Ingleson 1989 I:114, 116-7; Leal *et al.* 1991 I:104). Another practice, which was frequently adopted in the case of Asian languages, was that of placing those students who had studied a language to matriculation level at school in a second year rather than a first year course. This of course imposed limitations on the levels of proficiency which such students might be expected to achieve. Where no specific provision was made to provide for them, this practice in effect placed them at the same level of proficiency at graduation as those who had begun the study of a language for the first time at university (Ingleson 1989 I:115; Leal *et al.* 1991 I:104-5).

5.3.2.5 The curriculum of language programs in higher education

Language departments in higher education at the end of the 1980s still accepted the same broad purpose for language study which we noted in earlier periods. At this time, however, staff in language departments placed considerably more emphasis upon teaching communicative skills than they had in the past and consequently staff had expectations that, even in the limited time they had available, their students would graduate with high levels of oral-aural proficiency. Leal *et al.* were inclined to explain this change of attitude because language departments had come to expect that they would have to teach students who were beginning the study of languages at the level of higher education. Apart from training in the area of communication skills, language departments also continued to provide courses on aspects of society and culture. We have seen above that this had been a long-standing practice and one which encompassed not only the study of literature, but other aspects of the society and culture (see Chapter 3). There was resistance in most language departments to a recent tendency to conceive of language study in the narrow terms of a purely linguistic competence, an attitude frequently associated with the study of Asian languages, difficult to learn and taught in professional faculties such as commerce and education (Leal *et al.* 1991 I:75). The emphasis on social and cultural studies is regarded as important in training undergraduate students because such knowledge is considered important to the integration of students' linguistic knowledge within a more broadly conceived communicative competence. It is also central to the training of postgraduate students and to the interests of staff in those areas of linguistic and cultural studies traditionally

associated with research in language departments. It was also in some measure the result of a lack of co-ordination between the programs of language departments and those of other departments teaching other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. These other departments offered courses on cultural, social and historical aspects of the same countries as did language departments. There was little evidence that non-language departments encouraged their students, still less expected them, to possess a knowledge of languages other than English to pursue their studies (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:75-83).

It comes as no surprise that departments teaching Indonesian/Malay shared these same two broad goals of study. Their primary goal was the development of the student's communicative proficiency in Indonesian/Malay. This, as they all acknowledged in one way or another, involved students acquiring an understanding of Indonesian/Malay culture. The site of integration was the language course itself. While linguistic proficiency was the primary focus of these courses, cultural awareness played an important role in the development of the student's communicative competence and the materials used were designed to address the social and cultural aspects of language use. In some cases the matter was left at that and students were either required or left to pursue the study of the anthropology, history, politics, or literature of Indonesia in disciplinary studies taught by other departments in the institution. In other cases, discrete disciplinary-based modules were integrated into the structure of the language courses at various points to provide students with a systematically organised knowledge of the history and culture of the Indonesian/Malay area. In the first years of study such courses were independent of a knowledge of Indonesian/Malay, while in senior classes they were frequently dependent upon a student's command of the language and designed to contribute further to it. Depending upon their disciplinary character such courses might bridge the gap between language study and courses offered by disciplinary departments in such subjects as anthropology, history, political science or sociology, or they might stand alone as frequently courses in literature do. This depended entirely on local conditions in particular institutions.⁶⁸

5.3.2.6 Combination of language study and disciplines

Ingleston provided information on the existing combination of Asian language study (first year students of Chinese, Indonesian/Malay and Japanese) with other disciplines. Some 74% of students studying Asian languages combined their language studies with disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. This no doubt was the product of the subject areas of the faculties of primary location of language departments. Only 17% combined language study with commerce or economics, 4% with engineering and computing and 3% with physics (Ingleston 1989 1:143). These percentages correlate well with the findings of the survey of students conducted by the Centre for Export Marketing at the University of New

⁶⁸ The comment to which this footnote is attached was based on responses to questions in the universities survey of the present project which asked heads of departments, 'What are the intellectual, professional and social objectives of the Indonesian/Malaysian language course(s) you teach?', 'In your Indonesian/Malaysian language course(s) what is the relationship between the linguistic training of students and the development of their cultural awareness?' Seventeen of the 21 departments surveyed answered both questions

South Wales. With the exception of Japanese, few of the students surveyed thought it important to speak other languages, a result which correlated well with the fact that few were motivated to seek careers in export management or careers which would require them to work in Asia (Centre for Export Marketing 1991:47-51). Clearly findings such as these bode ill for government plans for the wider teaching of (Asian) languages in professional faculties. We have seen above that, while Ingleson was inclined to dismiss the regime of degree requirements of professional faculties and time-tabling as substantial inhibitions to the study of languages in these faculties, Leal *et al.* had argued that these factors were important obstacles. Leal *et al.* did, however, discover instances where such courses did exist, suggesting that there was some evidence of a desire in some institutions of higher education to include the learning of a language in the training of students in professional faculties. Leal *et al.* reported that the principle demand came from business studies, economics and law and noted that there were also successful programs taught in the case of engineering and medicine (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:129).

In language departments there has been long-standing resistance to the idea of servicing other departments. This resistance was founded upon a belief, shared with other departments, that the study of their subjects in higher education must be 'a self-justifying enterprise' (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:83). This sense of necessary autonomy in language departments had been exacerbated in the second half of the 1980s by a more general concern that the pressure to orient higher education to utilitarian goals in the interest of the national economy would seriously detract from the central humanist purpose of teaching and research programs in language departments. In departments teaching Asian languages resistance to the idea of servicing other departments, according to Ingleson, appeared also to have arisen as 'a defensive reaction at a time of declining resources and student numbers' (Ingleson 1989 1:117). It is perhaps a reflection of this resistance that staff in language departments rated lowest amongst their expectations of students their vocational preparation, despite the fact that school teaching, and interpreting and translation, were two areas where language graduates might most often expect to find employment. This was an attitude to which Wykes had drawn attention 25 years earlier (see Chapter 3). It is not surprising then that Leal *et al.* reported that co-ordination between the programs of language departments and those in higher education responsible for the training of language teachers was poor. In the case of interpreting and translation, low enrolments and the high costs of providing specialist courses in this area made it impossible to establish and maintain courses within the constraints of university budgets (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:82).

The present project specifically attempted to assess the availability of courses of Indonesian/Malay across different degrees in the institutions of higher education where the language was offered as a subject. It did so through an examination of university handbooks, and the survey of heads of departments teaching Indonesian/Malay specifically asked two questions designed to elicit information on the relationship between the study of the language and different degrees and disciplines in each institution.⁶⁹ As with other languages, the

⁶⁹ The two questions relevant to this issue were: 'Your Indonesian/Malay course(s) are available to students in which degree structures in your university?' and 'Describe the relationship between your Indonesian language course(s) and academic and professional disciplines taught in your department, faculty or other faculties'.

faculty of primary location of Indonesian/Malay have historically been those responsible for teaching the humanities and social sciences. Alternatively, in some cases, it has been faculties of education. This appears still very much to be the case. In these faculties, while mention was made of particular combinations of the study of the language with a number of disciplines such as anthropology, history or linguistics, such combinations appear not to be the result of deliberate plans but rather arise from student choice and are certainly the product of local circumstances within particular institutions. The project found evidence that the language was available to students beyond faculties of arts or social sciences in all the universities where the language was taught. Frequent mention was made of degrees in education, commerce, economics or business studies, sometimes of engineering, law, nursing, and one or two mentions of science and veterinary science. The availability of Indonesian/Malay in combination with interpreting and translating was mentioned only in the case of Deakin University where it is available within the courses of the Graduate Diploma in Interpreting/Translation. While some of these combinations may have been long available, many appear to be the result of relatively recent initiatives. It must be kept in mind in this regard that although the study of Indonesian/Malay is possible within the degree structures of these latter degrees or combined degrees, frequently there are restrictions placed on the availability of the language and frequently availability does not necessarily mean that students are actively encouraged to take advantage of the opportunity which is available. The project was not able to ascertain the numbers of students of Indonesian/Malay enrolled in the different degrees. The statistical information available simply did not permit this level of analysis. One suspects, however, that although there may be particular exceptions, Ingleson's calculations reported above still hold in general. Certainly, some heads of departments responding to the survey questionnaire sent to them mentioned that the study of the language was confined to students in one or two faculties, and, interestingly, an investigation at the University of Sydney revealed that, although the study of Indonesian/Malay can in fact be combined with the study of other disciplines within a wide range of undergraduate degrees, some of them quite long established, such as Bachelor of Arts, Arts (Asian Studies), Arts/Law, Economics, Education, Engineering and Science, very few students outside the Bachelor of Arts or Arts (Asian Studies) in fact studied the language. This corroborates the survey of university staff at this university reported above, which suggested that there is a great deal of uncertainty amongst staff about the importance of the study of Indonesian/Malay and of Southeast Asia more generally to the future plans of the university. It should be said that it may not at all be inappropriate that in certain degrees only small numbers of students should be undertaking the study of a language. In this respect there is need of a more detailed inquiry on the question of the appropriateness of the study of languages other than English as part of different degrees and a statistical investigation of the numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay and other languages enrolled in different degrees in universities in Australia. Where the study of the language is appropriate it ought to be actively encouraged.

5.3.2.7 Qualifications of academic staff in language departments

At the time when Ingleson and Leal *et al.* wrote their reports, the staff of language departments in higher education had qualifications attained in research degrees, but, unlike their counterparts in schools, did not generally have any specific training as teachers of language. The survey of academic staff in language departments conducted by Leal *et al.* found that, in general, the area in which most staff are qualified to research and teach is literature. Only a minority of staff have qualifications to research and teach linguistics, civilisation/culture and sociology. In the case of Indonesian/Malay, however, this was not the case. There were fewer staff qualified to teach literature. In fact, Leal *et al.* claimed that 'the newly introduced Asian language programs in general, and those in the newer universities in particular, offer their language in combination with a much wider range of areas than the older European language programs' (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:133-4; cf. Ingleson 1989:118).

The multifaceted character of teaching programs in language departments obviously requires academic staff with a variety of different disciplinary specialisations. Given the growing specialisation and professionalisation of the teaching of language, it is essential that amongst the staff of language departments are staff trained properly to teach particular languages and with a research interest in teaching the language they teach. Such members of staff, while they would not necessarily do all the language teaching, would do the bulk of it, but, more importantly, would assist with the design of other 'disciplinary' based courses ensuring that their assumptions about the levels of communicative proficiency of students were appropriate and that they actively contributed to the development of students' command of the language and ability to communicate in it. It should be noted here that at some point in the process, academic staff in other disciplinary departments ought to be drawn upon, perhaps teaching courses in the programs of language departments or teaching courses within their own departments to advanced students whose command of a language permits them to make use of the language in disciplinary based courses.

5.3.2.8 Teaching methodology, technological support and materials

It would seem then that there was broad consensus in language departments concerning the purpose of language study. However, according to Leal *et al.* and Ingleson, there was a lack of general agreement about teaching methodologies and assessment procedures amongst teachers of languages in higher education. This situation contrasted markedly with that which existed in the late 1960s and early 1970s when there was a general optimism about the adoption of the audio-lingual method of teaching languages. Since then, however, there had grown a considerable scepticism about the claims attached to this method of teaching languages, and in the absence of any research which supported the claims of any particular methodology or form of assessment, there was a strong inclination to be eclectic when deciding which teaching and assessment strategies were appropriate to teach languages other than English. The teaching and assessment strategies adopted varied between languages, teachers and the perceptions of student needs. It is not surprising, therefore, that Ingleson and Leal *et al.* reported that a wide variety of syllabus types and assessment

procedures were employed. They found that the functional type of syllabus, often linked to grammatical analysis, had the widest acceptance but 'few enthusiastic advocates'. The forms of assessment most favoured were conversation, grammar, composition and translation and they often varied between one course or even part of a course and another. Staff in language departments were either ignorant of or not in favour of existing proficiency rating systems which both Leal *et al.* and Ingleson favoured (Leal *et al.* 1991 I:106-14; compare Bowden and Quinn in Ingleson 1989 II:137-73; Ingleson 1989 I:168-9). In the case of Asian languages, Ingleson noted that there was a growing awareness of the needs of learners and a consequent concern about careful definition of the range of proficiency which a learner must have to communicate effectively. He was, however, of the view that in the absence of any 'criterion-based measure of proficiency', any argument about methodology would in the final analysis be impossible to resolve (Ingleson 1989 I:113-4). The low level of funding for research into language teaching and the lack of adequate resources available in language departments within the budgetary constraints in most institutions meant that resources were not available for any extensive revision of syllabuses other than in the area of the study of Asian languages which had received special funding for this purpose (Leal *et al.* I:106-12).

As we reported above, the impact of the new functional-notional and communicative methodologies for teaching languages have only recently begun to influence the teaching of Indonesian/Malay in Australian schools and universities and it is still far too early to be able to assess their impact beyond making one or two comments. The great advantage of both these methodologies as we have said earlier is the manner in which they attempt to simulate the authenticity of language use outside of the classroom, attend to the non-verbal aspects of communication and to the sociolinguistic dimensions of the use of the language. However, the place of grammar in the teaching of language has often become uncertain in actual classroom situations. The Indonesian Curriculum Materials project of the national TIFL Project is currently addressing the proper integration of the teaching of grammar in the tertiary classroom and producing a reference grammar specially designed for the use of teachers and students in the classroom. The survey of heads of departments teaching Indonesian/Malay specifically asked them to comment on the levels of proficiency of their students. Clearly most were able to do so only in terms of performance within the framework of their particular course. Only four of the 22 respondents to the question used either ASLPR or NAATI (National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters) ratings to do so. At the University of New South Wales, for example, they rate those students who complete the Introductory course at ASLPR level 1+, those who complete the Intermediate course at between 2 and 3, and their advanced students between levels 3 and 4. These ratings are mentioned because they are built into the national TIFL Indonesian Curriculum Materials project, and ASLPR ratings are the basis of the proficiency rating scale for Indonesian to be developed by Ingram and Woollams at Griffith University as part of the same Project. When the scale for Indonesian is finalised, the teaching of linguistic content in the Indonesian/Malay classroom may become more stabilised and more uniform across institutions (see above).

Leal *et al.* have argued that there was a particular need to take full advantage of technological advances. Technological changes in the past had created significant changes in teaching languages other than English. The introduction

into the learning environment of computers and satellite links would also create a more flexible infrastructure for the learning of languages and greater potential for self-managed learning programs. Before the full potential of such innovation could be exploited, however, Leal *et al.* argued that there was a need both for research into how such technology could best be used and to provide appropriate training for teachers so that they became familiar with the technologies available. In this new environment, argued Leal *et al.*, language courses ought to become less textbook-based and textbooks give way to packages of materials 'that can be pillaged by teachers'. They noted, however, that new technologies and materials were not universally available for all languages at the tertiary level and signalled the lack of reward for the specialist in university departments to creating them. Academic careers were enhanced 'by producing publications other than language textbooks!' (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:157-61).

Important initiatives have been taken to improve the materials and methodology available in the tertiary classroom for teaching Indonesian/Malay. The poor provision of course materials and the need to improve the methodology for teaching the language were problems recognised by the Asian Studies Council which, after a period of consultation, in 1992 established a national research and development project specifically designed to strengthen these two aspects of teaching Indonesian/Malay in higher education and to facilitate co-operation between Indonesian and Australian scholars in order to achieve these goals. The project, Teaching Indonesian as a Foreign Language (TIFL), funded through the Language and Literacy Branch of the Department of Employment, Education and Training, involves co-operation between the staff of the Northern Territory University, where it is co-ordinated, Flinders University in South Australia, Griffith University in Queensland and the Sydney Consortium of Indonesian and Malaysian Studies, a group of staff members responsible for teaching Indonesian/Malay from universities in the Sydney and Wollongong areas of New South Wales.

Mention has already been made of the nationally funded TIFL project to develop a proficiency rating scale for adult and adolescent learners of the language at Griffith University, and comment on the development of materials for the professional upgrading of teachers of Indonesian/Malay in the context of in-service courses will be made below. The project at Flinders University aims to provide a description of materials belonging to specific genres and registers of Indonesian in the areas of medical and community health, law and business within the theoretical framework of systemic functional linguistics. It is anticipated that the monographs and corpus of materials collected will then serve as a starting point to build courses for those interested in developing Indonesian for special purposes. The project undertaken by the Sydney Consortium for Indonesian and Malaysian Studies is co-ordinated in the Languages Unit of the Faculty of Arts at the University of New South Wales and involves co-operation of staff teaching Indonesian/Malay at the University of New South Wales, the University of Technology Sydney, the University of Sydney, the University of Western Sydney (Macarthur) and the co-operation of Dr Jim Sneddon of Griffith University. Conceived and taught within a broadly communicative mode of teaching the language, the materials being produced by this project are designed as one of Leal *et al.*'s flexible packages of materials which can be 'pillaged' by teachers.

The packages are organised in three levels. At the introductory level there is a program based on 20 themes, each assuming eight hours of class work. At the intermediate level there will be 14 themes, each containing material for two weeks' work. At these levels a range of classroom activities, dialogues, grammar, sociolinguistic explanations, realia, teachers' guide and audio-visual resources advice will be provided for each theme. At the advanced level, three modules, each for a semester's study, have been designed about the themes of 'An Introduction to New Order Indonesia', 'The Politics of New Order Indonesia' and 'The Economics of New Order Indonesia'. Class activities based on core print, audio and video materials are intended to develop both analytical skills and linguistic proficiency. Communicative activities are emphasised, and grammatical explanations, vocabulary lists and inventories of supporting print and audio-visual resources provided.

The survey of the heads of departments teaching Indonesian/Malay in higher education also identified other more modest but nevertheless important initiatives planned to provide new and better courses and teaching materials. These initiatives were those of departments or individuals and often produced routinely with no special funding. An anthology of Indonesian short stories compiled at the University of South Australia, the publication of Indonesian readers at the Curtin University of Technology, the making of audio tapes at La Trobe, the development of Malaysian and Indonesian courses at Monash and Murdoch Universities, the preparation of new course materials and audio tapes at the Australian National University and of materials for the distance teaching of Indonesian at the Northern Territory University, were just some of the initiatives mentioned by heads of department.

Leal *et al.* singled out library resources to support teaching languages other than English for special comment. The National Library of Australia was of the view that recent government reports had paid too little attention to the infrastructure and informational resources needed to support business, community and academic activity requiring foreign language materials. The effect on the cost of acquisitions caused by drops in the value of the Australian dollar, higher costs of processing material in languages other than English, the lack of trained librarians with a command of languages other than English or the cost of training them, all inhibited the availability of books, serials and audio-visual material in libraries. The situation became much more acute when a new language course was introduced into the program of a tertiary institution. Leal *et al.* believed that it was essential to initiate the learning of languages other than English in programs to train librarians, to recruit bilingual librarians and where they were available to share their skills amongst institutions in reasonably close geographical proximity with each other (Leal *et al.* 1991 I:161-5). This was not a matter that the present project specifically chose to investigate and the survey of heads of departments teaching Indonesian/Malay identified no special concern about library resources. However this ought not to be taken to mean there are not difficulties in this area. There are undoubtedly substantial resources available in centres where the study of Indonesian/Malay has been longest established at the Australian National University, Melbourne and Monash Universities and the University of Sydney. Even in these cases, however, there have long been difficulties obtaining serials and books from Indonesia. A consortium of libraries to support the National Library of Australia's purchasing scheme in Indonesia has had a chequered history in recent years because of the

lack of adequate funding and the withdrawal of participating libraries, and the BISA project to establish a national data base in Australia at the University of Sydney came to an end a number of years ago for lack of funding despite national recognition of its value. Anecdotal evidence certainly indicates that, as Leal *et al.* have reported, in the present economic environment the purchasing power of university and public libraries is much more limited than it once was and that acquisition of Indonesian and Malaysian publications has suffered because of this situation. Moreover it seems very likely that these circumstances have simply multiplied as the teaching of Indonesian/Malay has become available in recent years in many more universities in Australia. It should be noted that the National Library of Australia has recognised the problem of acquiring material from Indonesia, and, in early 1993, took the important decision to re-establish the position of National Library of Australia Regional Officer in Jakarta.

5.3.2.9 Teacher education

Above we noted that by the late 1980s, Commonwealth and State governments and others in the community had recognised the need for the more widespread teaching of languages other than English. There had also been recognition that the base for expanding the supply of teachers of languages was less than adequate to cope with the anticipated level of demand. Both Leal *et al.* and Ingleson, therefore, devoted an important part of their reports to the question of the supply and training of teachers of languages other than English. Leal *et al.* suggested that an increase in the order of 25% in the number of teachers of languages might well be required. Given how unattractive the profession of language teaching appeared to be amongst students studying languages in higher education at the end of the 1980s, and the numbers of teachers who were leaving the profession to take up careers in more attractive areas of employment, the numbers of new teachers might well have exceeded the figure of 25%. Ingleson was more reticent about predicting the future demand for teachers of Asian languages. He was mindful of factors which were difficult to determine with any precision, such as enrolment predictions, wastage rates and teacher-student ratios. He had no doubt, however, that there would be a substantial increase in the demand for teachers of Asian languages, which would increase still further as the goals of the Asian Studies Council's *National Strategy* were implemented (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:48-9; Ingleson 1989 1:173-6, 187-8).

Brown and McKay, in considering a national strategy for Indonesian/Malay, argued that the problem of teacher supply was not one of numbers alone but ultimately of the distribution in schools of the numbers which were available (Brown and McKay 1991:26). Sudden rises in the demand for particular languages, as has occurred in the second half of the 1980s in the case of Japanese, had also occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s in the case of Indonesian/Malay and posed particular problems for the supply of trained teachers. Brown and McKay found it difficult to judge the extent to which the shortage of teachers might inhibit the expansion of the teaching of Indonesian/Malay in schools. The last reliable information they were able to locate was from as long ago as 1983, when the *National Survey of Language Learning of Australian Schools* reported that there were then 248 qualified teachers not teaching the language but who were prepared to do so. 1983 was a

time when the demand for Indonesian/Malay was low and unlikely to be a reliable guide in a period when a concerted campaign to expand the teaching of the language was taking place (Brown and McKay 1991:26). Their view is certainly supported by the evidence of rapidly expanding numbers of students of the language at primary and in the lower secondary schools, which the present project has identified. Moreover, as we reported above, there is evidence of a shortage in the supply of teachers in some States at least at the present time. As reported above, the survey of teachers of Indonesian/Malay carried out by the present project identified two categories of teachers of Indonesian/Malay. The first, the largest amongst the respondents, was made up of well-trained and experienced teachers of the language, who had spent time in Indonesia travelling and studying there for six months or more. The second group comprised those who had recently been recruited to the ranks of Indonesian teachers as the result of government initiatives to promote the study of languages other than English in primary schools. These teachers had little or no prior language training, had not attended in-service courses to teach them Indonesian, had virtually no first-hand experience of Indonesia and were heavily reliant on the back-up of a visiting language-trained teacher of Indonesian. There is clearly a need to monitor the supply of teachers of Indonesian/Malay in relation to demand and to train new teachers of Indonesian/Malay.

Most teachers of Indonesian/Malay, like their colleagues who taught French and German, are Australian born and educated and rarely include native speakers of these languages. Indeed, the sample who responded to the survey of teachers of the language for the present project, contained only seven native speakers of the language, only one of whom had tertiary qualifications in Indonesian language. Leal *et al.* and Ingleson reported that the courses to train native speakers of languages as language teachers were rarely available in teacher education programs. Both reports stressed the importance of providing for the training of bilinguals because of the anticipated demand for language teachers with high levels of linguistic proficiency who were needed to improve the quality language teaching in Australian schools. The numbers of bilinguals available for such training in the case of Indonesian/Malay is likely to be lower than in the case of those of other migrant communities in Australia given the size of the Indonesian/Malay community in the country. However the survey of the Indonesian/Malay community in the Sydney metropolitan area carried out for this report indicates that there is a strong desire in the community to maintain Indonesian/Malay as a community language. Subject of course to the direction of Australian immigration policy, the community seems likely to continue to grow in size in the future and in these circumstances there is good reason to anticipate at least some level of demand for the training of bilinguals of Indonesian/Malay as teachers of the language (see Chapter 6 and Leal *et al.* 1991 I:145; Ingleson 1989 I:116-7, 174). Moreover, there are special syllabuses, available in New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia, which provide opportunity for students from overseas to sit for matriculation examinations in the language. Although many of the students who sit for these examinations do so overseas, there is provision in each of these States for these students to be taught in Australia. Present initiatives to sell Australian education overseas may well see an increase in the demand for teachers with native speaker command of the language and training appropriate to teach these students.

Teachers of languages in schools are required to have qualifications as teachers of languages. These they acquire in graduate programs of Diplomas of Education or as part of a four year Bachelor of Education degree. In some States there has been a long-standing tradition which demands that teachers of languages had to have qualifications to teach two languages, a condition which was considered essential for promotion. This is a practice which Leal *et al.* recorded was the subject of some criticism and he noted that in some teacher training programs there was a tendency amongst teacher trainees to combine the study of languages with other teaching subjects than languages. English as a Second Language, social sciences and history were the most frequent combinations. They interpreted this practice as a tendency in part stimulated by a desire on the part of students to keep their options for a career as open as possible. It also makes good sense since language teachers need to be qualified to teach aspects of history and cultural studies in connection with their language courses.

The lack of interest amongst students who were studying languages other than English in seeking careers as language teachers was matched by the low priority which institutions of higher education have attached to the training of teachers of these languages. Frequently the responsibility for the broad subject area associated with the training of teachers of languages has been allocated to a minimal staffing establishment which, according to Leal *et al.*, was often no more than a single lecturer and a practicing teacher who was employed on a part-time basis. As we have seen there were often only tenuous links between the departments which taught languages and in which concern for the vocational training of students was regarded as relatively unimportant, and those in higher education responsible for teacher education in this area. In the case of Asian languages, according to Ingleson, there were also few method courses specially designed to train teachers to teach these languages and there was very poor provision in particular for the training of primary school teachers in this area. Moreover, the perception amongst those responsible for the training of primary school teachers that the primary syllabus was already overcrowded, had created considerable scepticism about the availability of adequate resources to introduce the study of Asian subject matter and to provide good teaching materials at this level (Ingleson 1989 I:173-4, 177, 181). Moreover, at the end of the 1980s great emphasis was being placed on improving the communicative competence of students in schools. This had given rise to complaints about the quality of some courses and practices in the area of training teachers of languages other than English. Teachers who had received their training since 1985 and who were surveyed as part of the inquiry of Leal *et al.* indicated that there existed amongst them only mediocre satisfaction with the training they had received. Almost all respondents wanted increased emphasis placed upon their own communicative skills, especially oral-aural skills. There was little provision for the training of teachers of language in-country, an experience which would go a long way in improving the communicative competence of teachers. Such training, Leal *et al.* believed, ought in the long-term to become a normal prerequisite for all teachers of languages other than English. In the meantime, Leal *et al.* believed that credit within existing degrees might be granted to students who undertook such training. Language teachers in schools ought also to be encouraged to undertake training in-country and be rewarded for doing so by being granted paid or subsidised leave, enhanced promotional opportunities or direct financial incentives (Leal *et al.* 1991 I:145; Ingleson 1989 I:180).

Teachers of Indonesian/Malay share these views. Brown and McKay in their National Strategy for teaching Indonesian drew attention to Witton's report to the Asian Studies Council based upon a survey of practising Indonesian teachers. They were, according to Witton, 'highly critical of the training they received and the training still being received by the trainee teachers who [came] to practise teach in their schools' (quoted in Brown and McKay 1991:27). These comments referred to both the method training and the level of language proficiency they possessed on entering the teaching profession. If there is to be an adequate supply of properly trained teachers of Indonesian/Malay available in the classroom in Australian schools, training programs for teachers of Indonesian/Malay must be staffed by specialised lecturers who possess both a high proficiency in Indonesian/Malay and an appropriate training in a methodology specifically designed for teaching the language (Brown and McKay 1991:27). There appears to be no reason to believe that teachers of Indonesian/Malay are less proficient linguistically as a group than the teachers of other languages. As Leal *et al.*, Ingleson, and Brown and McKay suggest, the solution to the problem of ensuring that teachers have high levels of proficiency in Indonesian/Malay lies on the one hand in providing in-country training for all prospective teachers of the language, and, on the other, ensuring that as many present teachers of the language as possible are able to access in-country courses on a regular basis as part of a normal program of maintaining their professional skills. For those teachers who find it difficult to spend extended periods of absence overseas because of young families, there should be special provision for intensive courses in Australia to improve their linguistic proficiency. Teachers who do not have a fluent and up-to-date command of the language can hardly be expected to teach successfully within programs that pretend to train school students to high levels of linguistic proficiency (Brown and McKay 1991:29). About 50% of respondents to the survey conducted by the present survey of heads of departments indicated that there was a strong relationship between learning the language and education faculties because of the numbers of students taking Indonesian/Malay as part of their teacher training, and we noted above, when discussing developments affecting the teaching of Indonesian/Malay in universities, the existence of new degrees which require one year in-country and which permit the accreditation to degrees of shorter periods of in-country learning of the language. We noted also that Commonwealth and State and Territory governments and the Australia-Indonesia Institute had made financial support available for students and teachers to attend such courses in recent years. Thus there are in place in some universities measures to provide for improving teachers' proficiency in the language.

Following upon the Witton Report and its review by the Asian Studies Council, an initiative for the development of a methodology appropriate for teaching Indonesian/Malay as a foreign language was undertaken as part of a national TIFL project. One part of this project, situated in the Faculty of Education in the Northern Territory University, is planned to research the in-service needs of teachers of Indonesian/Malay, and develop and trial materials for a methodology for teaching the language for use during in-service programs. The materials, which assume that teachers have already a communicative competence in the language, are designed for flexible use in courses of up to six months in duration or by teachers wishing to employ the materials in their own curriculum planning. Once the new methodology and materials are developed they will be available also for wider use in programs for Bachelor of Education

degrees and Diplomas of Education. The new methodology and materials might also be appropriately placed in in-country courses where there are already elements designed to assist teachers of Indonesian/Malay in the design of courses and preparation of course materials such as occurs in the Intensive Course in Indonesian Language and Culture at the University of Satya Wacana and in the Monash University program at Gajah Mada in Central Java.

Furthermore, if teachers are to teach Indonesian/Malay effectively, they need to be able to present their students with 'a picture of Indonesia which is both contemporary and accurate' (Brown and McKay 1991:40). Pollard's listing of materials suggests that the materials routinely used for teaching aspects of Indonesian culture in conjunction with the teaching of the language are outdated. Pre- and in-service courses for teachers of Indonesian/Malay must ensure that graduates possess an adequate knowledge of contemporary Indonesia, its culture and history, and are kept up-to-date. We noted above that the need of easy access in Australia to contemporary Indonesian newspapers, magazines and journals, television and radio programs are equally essential in this regard. For not only will their routine use by teachers ensure that they are kept abreast of current affairs and cultural changes, but they will provide a valuable source of materials for the classroom, particularly in the senior high school and of course in higher education (Brown and McKay 1991:40-1; Pollard 1991).

Providing for an adequate supply of teachers of language in schools across the country with high levels of proficiency in Indonesian/Malay, in-country experience, familiarity with the latest methods of teaching their language, in touch with contemporary Indonesia and Malaysia, and comfortable with an increasingly sophisticated technology is a daunting task. After a period in which teaching Indonesian/Malay and training language teachers have not had a high priority, it is very daunting indeed. Nicholas *et al.* have argued that there can be no one-off solution to the demand for language teachers. They have argued that a set of 'processes and mechanisms' needs to be put in place, to ensure that information about demand and supply reach those responsible for decisions affecting the teaching of languages. The situation in which this must occur, they point out, is a complex one, affected by a range of factors including people's motivation to become teachers, their language competence, the views of school communities, education systems and governments about which languages ought to be offered, and the levels at which the languages should be taught, and the relationship between institutions of higher education and education systems. All of these matters require negotiation over a period of time during which educational needs, Australia's relationships with the world, the internal structure of Australian society, government policies and language functions have been changing and will continue to change (Nicholas *et al.* 1993:1-3). If decisions affecting provision of teachers of Indonesian/Malay are to be effective, they must be taken in a manner which takes cognisance of this total planning environment.

5.4 Conclusions

By way of drawing together the issues which have arisen out of the above consideration of the situation of Indonesian/Malay in higher education in Australia, it will be instructive to return to Table 2.13 in Chapter 2. There we observed that in 1992, there were for the first time since 1988 eight institutions in which enrolments in Indonesian/Malay language courses were in excess of 29 EFTSUs, and that in all cases but one, quite dramatic increases in the numbers of students had occurred since 1988. At Griffith University the increase was from 28.51 to 53.6 EFTSUs, at Deakin University from 12.27 to 42.75 EFTSUs, at the Australian National University from 25.9 to 40.48 EFTSUs, at Flinders 15.82 to 36.3, at La Trobe from 26.52 (1990) to 35.5, the University of Southern Queensland from 18.5 to 34.75 EFTSUs, the University of Sydney from 30 in 1988 to 34.1 EFTSUs, and at Murdoch from 12.1 to 29.2 EFTSUs. We might then ask why these increases in student enrolments occurred. In the survey of heads of department which the present project conducted, they were asked, 'In order of priority describe briefly five factors promoting the study of Indonesian/Malaysian in your institution and five factors which you believe inhibit the study of the language in your institution'. When answering the question they were asked to include both attitudes and practices within their own institution and in the general community. The responses were varied, no doubt reflecting local circumstances in particular institutions and personal idiosyncrasies. They nevertheless provide us with a valuable opportunity to discuss the conditions in which growth in the study of Indonesian/Malay at this level of education has taken place.

As in the case of the survey of school teachers, there was recognition of encouragement given to the study of the language by recent government and community recognition of the value to the nation and to individuals of Asian languages and of Indonesian/Malay in particular. In the case of at least two of the universities in this category, Griffith in Queensland and Murdoch in Western Australia, increases in student numbers have occurred where sister-state relations had been established between the State government and provinces in Indonesia. By far the most frequently mentioned factor promoting the study of the language, however, was institutional support for the study of the language. While this at times appeared to refer to the commitment of a senior administrator, a Vice-Chancellor or a Dean, it clearly involved a great deal more. Institutional support meant in the first place the existence of a committed group of teachers of the language, and in institutions where the study had been long established an experienced group of teachers with well tried and tested teaching materials. An equally important ingredient was the presence of a critical mass of Indonesianists amongst the teaching staff, not just in the department from which the language was taught but in other departments and faculties. The presence of staff across the institution invariably meant the availability of courses in other departments and faculties in which the study of Indonesia and Malaysia was either the prime object of study or an important component. In some cases too it meant that the study of Indonesian/Malay was a significant component in a number of degree structures. Such a situation created an important community of interest which traversed departments and crossed faculty boundaries within the institution. Even where close formal links between particular departments or individuals in different parts of the university may

not have existed, students with an interest in the study of the Indonesian/Malaysian region were, in such a study environment, able to find courses of relevance to their interest. It meant too, particularly in the universities where the study had been longest established, the existence of important library resources and of an ongoing commitment to the building of those resources. Particular mention was made in the case of Griffith University, a university where the increase in the numbers of students has been very dramatic in recent years, that students perceived that Indonesian/Malay was an easier language to learn than other Asian languages and that therefore higher levels of proficiency were achieved earlier and retention rates amongst advanced students were better.

Even in those universities where increases in the numbers of students has been strongest, not all these conditions were present and heads of department were able to point to a number of specific matters which they considered were inhibiting wider teaching of the language. Above when discussing the situation of Indonesian/Malay in schools, attention was drawn to widespread community attitudes which discouraged the study of languages other than English and of Indonesian/Malay in particular. Responses from the heads of departments draw our attention again to these issues. Some noted that the prevalence of monocultural and monolingual attitudes in the community and the absence of a large Indonesian/Malay community in Australia inhibited growth of the subject. Others mentioned uncertainty about career opportunities in business, the public service and the defence forces which were open to those with a command of Indonesian/Malay. They compared this situation with the case of Japanese where there was a widespread belief that command of this language would bring with it job opportunities. Clearly student perceptions of Indonesian/Malay as an easier language to learn than Japanese can be affected by other considerations. In this connection there were one or two heads of department who made mention of the negative aspect of the perception that Indonesian/Malay was an easier language to learn than others. They pointed out that students starting out with false expectations in this regard finished by dropping out of courses.

The low staffing establishment of departments responsible for teaching the language was also frequently mentioned. Whether or not this was a product of the failure of the staffing establishment to keep pace with rapidly growing numbers of students in some cases, heads of department indicated that it was in many cases also due to the failure of government and institutions to understand that the staff-student ratios which prevailed did not provide adequately for the intensity of contact between teacher and student that the learning of languages demanded. It seems that nowhere in Australia is there a large and well staffed department responsible for teaching Indonesian/Malay and associated cultural studies. As the Working Party of the Universities Commission warned as long ago as 1975, too rapid spread in the teaching of any language would result in small and academically weak teaching units. This is particularly the case where there is no widespread commitment in other departments and faculties within an institution to the study of Indonesia and Malaysia. Such a situation bodes ill for an academically strong and stable basis for study of the language and for ongoing research in those areas of linguistic and cultural research typically attached to departments of language in education at this level. Moreover, where responsibility for teaching the language falls on the shoulders of teachers who are appointed for one year at a time, overburdened

with hours of routine teaching, classroom preparation and the regular marking of student assignments, little can be expected of them in creating new and contemporary teaching programs designed for the classroom within the framework of changes affecting the methodology of teaching languages. The lack of up-to-date teaching materials was also a matter which heads of department frequently signalled as an important inhibitor of the expanded teaching of the language. It is particularly an issue in the case with a language like Indonesian/Malay, which is not so widely taught elsewhere in the world as it is in Australia. Little financial and other support can be expected from the Indonesian and Malaysian Governments compared with that provided, for example, by the Japanese Government and some European governments, through the agency of cultural institutes such as the Japan Foundation, the Alliance Française, British Council, and the Goethe Institut. While the Commonwealth Government has recognised that there currently exists a particular need for new teaching materials and has provided generously through the national TIFL project to produce them, the problem is not one which can be solved once and for all. The teaching of any language is an ongoing and exacting art, one requiring that tertiary teachers be provided with the time to update and redesign their teaching programs on an ongoing basis, if the language is to be properly taught. Australian institutions cannot rely on the work being done elsewhere in the world in the case of Indonesian/Malay. It will have for the most part to take place here in Australia, at least in the foreseeable future. Good sense demands, as it did in the 1960s and 1970s when Wykes and the Working Party of the Universities Commission recommended it, that universities work out between themselves ways of co-operating with one another, despite institutional sensitivities likely to be aroused. This is essential in a situation where there is an identified need to teach the language across a number of institutions relatively close to one another, and where funding is likely to remain low given the continued economic crisis. Despite its failure in the end to attract formal support from universities in the Sydney and Wollongong areas, the Sydney Consortium for Indonesian and Malaysian Studies is a modest example of what might be achieved with a modicum of goodwill and common sense through co-operation of this kind.

The successful delivery of language courses at the tertiary level is particularly crucial in the present climate in Australia in which there is still considerable scepticism about the relevance of languages other than English to the everyday life of the community and scepticism about whether or not Australians can actually achieve the levels of proficiency required in the work place. It is at this level of education that levels of linguistic proficiency, cultural and historical knowledge of the communities using particular languages, and the specifically professional training of graduates are achieved, and the link between them forged prior to employment. It is of the utmost importance therefore that high levels of linguistic proficiency be achieved by the end of tertiary study. However, the ability to communicate in a language depends on a great deal more than a knowledge of the linguistic system of a language and an ability to use it, as Ingram and Wylie point out (1992:31-2). Personality, intelligence and social norms all contribute importantly to the ability. Moreover, if effective communication is to take place with the community of users of a language, a knowledge of their society and culture is of paramount importance. Learning a language cannot be separated from the study of society and culture (Krasnick 1984:209-19). The communicative method of teaching

language with its emphasis on simulating as far as possible in the classroom real life speech situations certainly recognises this in demanding attention to the specifically sociolinguistic dimensions of a language. However, to communicate is to communicate about something and arguably the learner's capacity to communicate intelligently and knowledgeably in the target language depends upon the learner's broader knowledge of the culture and society of users of the target language. For motivational as much as professional reasons, this ability will also be linked in the learning process to the student's professional interests. The capacity of institutions of higher education to produce graduates with such a competence requires the integration of language learning and the study of academic and professional disciplines. There is a case that staff in disciplinary departments ought to be drawn more into this process. However, at this point it needs to be noted that disciplinary departments in Australia have since the 1960s not, in general, taught courses at the undergraduate or even postgraduate level which presume a knowledge of a language other than English and have not on the whole been active in requiring or encouraging their students to learn languages. In Australian universities it has been staff in departments teaching languages which have taken on the task of integrating the learning of language and the study of culture. While this has typically been interpreted as the study of literature, it has, particularly in the case of departments teaching Asian languages, also involved other disciplines as well. In the case of Indonesia and Malaysia, then, there have been important areas of disciplinary studies which have been taught in language departments and nowhere else in particular institutions, and these have involved more than the study of literature.

The capacity of institutions of higher education in Australia then to deliver graduates with a broadly based ability to communicate effectively in a language other than English will depend on recognising the longstanding presence in language departments of staff with a range of disciplinary specialisations. Amongst the staff there must be those properly trained in the methodology of teaching languages, able to carry out research in this area and capable of designing the linguistic content of courses taught.⁷⁰ Furthermore, there ought also to be others with other disciplinary specialisations — anthropologists and sociologists, historians, political scientists, art historians and of course those qualified to teach literature. The relegation of the responsibility of teaching languages to a world divided between language teaching programs conceived in narrowly linguistic terms and teaching aspects of culture and history in English language disciplinary programs is to fail properly to understand what it is to communicate effectively in a language and to support a poor substitute for what the learning of another language ought to be.⁷¹ It is all very well to argue that the learning of language will lead to cultural understanding. This goal, however, cannot be left to a process of teaching a language in the classroom which understands communication only in narrowly instrumental terms. The ability to communicate means the ability to negotiate cultural and social meanings, and ignorance of the meanings which are at stake can only impede effective communication.

⁷⁰ For a valuable anecdotal commentary on the life of a language instructor, read Fouquier (1990: 13).

⁷¹ For a view opposed to this which advocates the death of departments of Indonesian, Malay Studies, see Ingleson (1990: 9).

Clearly the pedagogical regime required for such enterprise, apart from requiring the development of teaching curriculum and materials, puts time at a premium. Given the restraints which degree requirements put upon time available in normal teaching periods, degrees requiring periods of one year in-country training, and, minimally, the accreditation of intensive courses of lesser periods are an essential ingredient if students achieve high levels of proficiency. The major obstacle standing in the way of the widespread availability of these options for students are financial. It will be essential, therefore, that financial support become increasingly available for senior undergraduate and postgraduate students specialising in the study of Indonesian/Malay to study in Indonesia and/or Malaysia for periods of up to one year. Offering financial assistance at this point will ensure that students obtain it when they are best able to use the language in their chosen academic discipline or professional training. While on the subject of in-country training, it ought to be said that the academic staff of departments teaching languages must at frequent and regular intervals be provided with the opportunity to spend time in-country to upgrade and maintain communicative proficiency and to carry out research.

Inevitably, recurrent economic recessions have constrained government spending and limited its capacity to initiate measures to counter the combined long-term effects of monolingualism and Euro-centrism in education on teaching and learning languages. Not only have there been complaints of inadequate levels of funding allocated to teaching languages other than English but there has also been important commentary on the manner in which funding has been allocated. It is clear that governments have found it difficult to establish a stable set of funding priorities in a climate in which significant changes have taken place in judgements about the relative value of particular languages in an area of education of perceived high need but low demand. Sudden shifts in the demand for particular languages have been difficult to predict. In the period 1982-84 government funding was directed towards teaching the languages of Australia's migrant communities. By the end of the decade, however, government priorities favoured languages which were judged to be commercially and strategically important. This change of priority meant for all intents and purposes that Asian languages were the ones selected for special funding. However, amongst Asian languages, there have also been changes in the level of demand. In the 1960s and 1970s the demand had been for Indonesian/Malay. By the end of the 1980s, Chinese and Japanese in particular had been the Asian languages which most students turned to, exposing the limited resources available to provide for courses in these languages (Ingleson 1989 1:120-2). In these circumstances funding levels and shifting priorities have given rise to a situation which Leal *et al.* described as one marked by instability and discontinuity in programs of language study in higher education and a regime in which fewer staff have had higher numbers of contact hours and assessment loads. The capacity of teachers to bring about the significant changes in language teaching programs required by government policies already limited by such factors has also been hampered by the low level of funding available for research in the area of language teaching. This was particularly true of languages other than those Asian languages which have received special funding for this purpose. Furthermore, institutions of higher education, constrained by the level of government funding, have been encouraged by the perceived low status attached to teaching languages other than English to sustain low levels of funding in the areas of language study and training language teachers (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:xxxiii, 123-4, 146-7).

Indonesian/Malay, as one of the Asian languages targeted for attention in the period between 1986 and 1992, has enjoyed significant levels of government funding. It is likely that such funding will have to continue to support projects important to teaching the language in higher education. Indonesian/Malay is not widely taught in the world outside Indonesia and Malaysia except in Australia, and any commercially supportable developments are therefore likely to be limited by the small size of the Australian market. Two points need to be made on continued funding of projects designed to promote the more widespread and better teaching of the language. Firstly, funding should not be directed just at specific institutions, but at support for projects which will benefit teaching the language across institutions. Funding should go to those best qualified and able to carry them out, if necessary through some process of competitive tendering or by identifying consortiums of expertise such as has been done in the case of the national TIFL project. Secondly, individual institutions have to accommodate programs of study of Indonesian/Malay from within their own budgets or within arrangements which combine the resources of several institutions in close geographical proximity. In the present economic environment, individual institutions cannot expect governments to pay for every new initiative. The changes in national priorities in education which are being called for at the present time are changes required in order that graduates and the nation are better able to relate to the rest of the world in the twenty-first century. Institutions of higher education must thus re-order their priorities. If limited resources are not to be wasted or spread too thinly, the process of changing educational priorities ought to take account of where at present resources exist for teaching Indonesian/Malay and to build on these and where appropriate to do so co-operatively across universities. There is great danger in the proliferation of small, costly and academically weak programs isolated in different universities. Having said as much, it is also important that governments recognise that structural problems and academic political interests stand in the way of change in a higher education sector which has long been accustomed to planning which has been 'add-on' and funded by government.⁷² Government may well need to negotiate financial inducements in one form or another to encourage the changes it desires to see.

72 See Viviani 1992:63-72 for a view of the debates and visions which surround the development of the study of Asia in Australian education.

6 **INDONESIAN/MALAY IN AUSTRALIA: A SURVEY OF THE LANGUAGE USE OF THE INDONESIAN COMMUNITY IN THE SYDNEY METROPOLITAN AREA**

6.1 **The Indonesian/Malay speaking community in Australia**

6.1.1 **Introduction**

It has been more than two and a half centuries since the first expeditions of Indonesian seamen from Macassar arrived in Australia for extended periods of time to trade and fish in Australian waters. For much of the time since then, due to the presence of the White Australia policy, Indonesians and Malaysians have been restricted to the economic proximity of pearl diving and the geographic proximity of north-western Australia. With the advent of World War II and the Japanese drive through Southeast Asia, more than 4,000 Indonesians in the Dutch Army, Navy or merchant marine found their way to Australia, along with 500 political prisoners. Following the end of the war, all but 800 of these emigrants would return to the Dutch East Indies to help in the struggle for Indonesian independence, leaving in their wake a number of Australian-Indonesian friendship associations.

Once peace had been established Indonesia began to send students to study at Australian universities under the Colombo Plan. By the mid 1960s the racial criteria for selection of immigrants was being dismantled. Whereas previous immigrants from Indonesia and Malaysia had been unable to achieve anything more than temporary residency, over 300 Indonesian and Malaysians per year arrived between the mid 1960s and mid 1970s and 1,100 per year from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s. These figures, of course, include a large component of students. Nevertheless, there were still on average 380 Indonesians per year settling in Australia between 1976 and 1986.

The Indonesian communities in Australia are concentrated around Sydney and Melbourne and to a lesser extent Perth. As the size of the Indonesian community has grown, the occupational categories have become increasingly diversified. This has been compounded by the growth of tourism and increased contact between Australian and Indonesian businesses. Community organisations now realise that a majority of their members are making their homes in Australia, not merely passing through on some business venture. In this vein, the establishment of the first Indonesian ethnic school took place in Melbourne in 1982.

Table 6.1 gives the occupations of the Indonesian community in Australia by gender. Of the estimated 34,000 Indonesian immigrants in Australia,⁷³ 47% live in Sydney and, on average, they tend to have been resident in Australia for longer than other immigrant communities from ASEAN countries. Their per

⁷³ Komot Mangiri and James E. Coughlan, 'A profile of the Indonesian Community in Australia: A preliminary Analysis of the 1986 Census', in James E. Coughlan, (ed.), *The Diverse Asians: A Profile of Six Asian Communities in Australia*, Centre for the Study of Australia-Asia Relations, Griffith University, 1992, p. 156.

capita income is roughly equal to the national average, and they are more likely (22% of males) than any other Southeast Asian migrants, except Singaporeans (41% of males) and Malaysians (49% of males), to be found in managerial or professional occupations.

Occupation	Male	Female
Managerial/Professional	31%	22%
Clerk	7%	25%
Tradesperson	16%	5%
Labourer	11%	18%
Other	35%	30%

Table 6.1
*Occupations of the Indonesian Community in Australia by Gender*⁷⁴

The ethnic make-up of the Indonesian community is problematic. One scholar has estimated that in 1986, 65% were of Dutch ancestry, 10% were Chinese and of the remaining Indonesian nationals, half were students.⁷⁵ Mangiri and Coughlan, however, contend that 31.0% of the community were of Indonesian ancestry, 28% were Dutch and 27.3% were Chinese with the remainder being made up of smaller groups of people of British, Australian, Vietnamese, Indian, Malay and Iberian ancestry (Mangiri and Coughlan 1992:160). Most of the Indonesian-born who arrived in Australia between 1946 and 1966 were ethnic Dutch, while the more recent arrivals have been primarily ethnic Chinese and Indonesian. While the former were largely refugees from the excesses of post-colonial Indonesia, the others are here either to make money or to obtain an education and this can be seen in their very low dependency ratio (0.26%) (Mangiri and Coughlan 1992:167, 162, 164).

Indonesian migrants are generally better educated than the majority of the Australian population, with 45% having post-secondary qualifications and 66% of these possessing bachelor degrees or higher. One quarter of all Indonesians currently living in Australia are at a university, and their unemployment rate is marginally lower than that of the other Australian labour force participants (Mangiri and Coughlan 1992:170-3).

The growing size of the Indonesian community in Australia suggests that an assessment of the language requirements of the Indonesian community in Australia is in order at the present time.

⁷⁴ The table is based on Table 12 in Mangiri and Coughlan (1992:174).
⁷⁵ I. Gunawan, quoted in Richard T. Jackson (1991:73, 75, 77, 81).

6.2 A survey of the Indonesian speaking community in the Sydney metropolitan area

6.2.1 Aim

The survey was carried out in the Sydney metropolitan area. It was intended to cover the widest possible sociolinguistic spectrum of the Indonesian speaking community, incorporating various Indonesian ethnic communities such as the Javanese, Sundanese, Minangkabau, Menadonese, Ambonese, Bataks and Balinese.

6.2.2 Methodology

The data were gathered by means of a questionnaire. The questions were designed to determine the use and the function of Indonesian in the Indonesian speaking communities of Sydney. The questions were also designed to determine the perceived needs of the respondents in relation to the maintenance of Indonesian in their communities. The questionnaire accordingly attempted to elicit the following information:

a. The demography of the respondents

Questions were designed to determine the sex, age, country of birth, educational background, occupation, marital status — married with a spouse of the same or different nationality, or single — and the type of dwelling in which they live.

b. Frequency of use of Indonesian

Here the questions were formulated to determine the use of Indonesian in comparison to regional languages, English, mixtures of Indonesian and regional languages, and mixtures of Indonesian and English: in the home, and in the community for social purposes, transactional and informational and ritual purposes.

c. Maintenance of Indonesian as a community language in Australia

The questions were designed to assess the need to maintain Indonesian as a means of communication amongst the ethnically diverse Indonesians living in Australia and their expectations of Australian governments in assisting them to maintain Indonesian as an 'Ethnic Community Language', this with regard to:

- increasing the number of hours and the cultural, political and social content of broadcasts on government-funded radio and television networks, and
- expanding access to Indonesian in hospitals, the police force, law courts, legal aid services, and departments of Social Security, Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.

The questionnaires were distributed by post and by intermediaries. Fifty were sent through the post to respondents of varied Indonesian ethnic origins — their names being ones which are typically Javanese, Sundanese, Ambonese, Batak and Balinese — in different suburbs within the Sydney metropolitan area. A further 150 copies were sent to respondents of varied Indonesian ethnic communities through the assistance of Mr M. Sampow, representing the Kawanua/Menadonese community (45 copies); Mr H. Rahman, representing the Minangkabau community (40 copies); Mr J. B. Supit, representing a community belonging to a particular church denomination (30 copies); Mrs I. Anang Yahya, a staff member of the Indonesian Consulate General in Sydney, representing various interested individuals (20 copies); and Mr S. Sutikno, representing young people and students (15 copies).

Two hundred copies of the questionnaire, therefore, were distributed by post and by personal delivery. The rate of return was expected to be 50%; thus 100 respondents were expected to return their answers. This number was based on similar projects undertaken in Indonesia to determine the status and function of Indonesian in relation to the use of regional languages:

- Kedudukan Dan Fungsi Bahasa Bali, Pusat Pembinaan and Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta, 1981. The project was carried out in Bali, and involved 200 respondents out of two million Balinese speaking individuals.
- Kedudukan Dan Fungsi Bahasa Indonesia, Pusat Pembinaan and Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta, 1979. The project was carried out in East Java, and involved 120 respondents out of 31 million inhabitants of East Java.

From the 200 copies of the questionnaire which were distributed, only 61 responses were received, a return rate of only 30.5%. The low level of responses may possibly have been caused by a number of factors. The Indonesians who have come to Australia did so in order to improve the economic conditions in which they live. Therefore any activities which they considered to be irrelevant to their economic situation would not be of great interest to them. Some of the intermediaries suggested that those who did not return their answers were reluctant to express their opinion publicly, for fear that their present situation might be jeopardised. Mr Garry Lee of the Department of Ethnic Affairs, Sydney, said that in his experience, immigrants' response rates to questionnaires were usually very poor because they believed that the questionnaires were of no economic benefit to them and, therefore, they had little interest in responding to them. Furthermore, they were accustomed to rigid socio-political regulation in their countries of origin and any questionnaires, however little they had to do with politics, would be ignored out of fear for their political repercussions.

6.3 Results and discussion

6.3.1 Demographic, educational and occupational profile of the respondents

Of the 61 respondents who responded to the questionnaire, only 79% declared their suburbs of residence, a figure which suggests that even those who were prepared to co-operate in this project still had reservations about coming forward, for one reason or another. This was despite the fact that there was no way to trace them to their actual places of residence.

The suburbs of residence mentioned by the respondents were Ashfield, Blakehurst, Caringbah, Earlwood, Erskineville, Fairfield, Fairy Meadow, Glebe, Greenfields, Kensington, Kingsford, Lakemba, Marrickville, Marsfield, Merrylands, North Ryde, Oakhurst, Penshurst, Petersham, Plumpston, Punchbowl, Randwick, Rockdale, Stanmore, Surry Hills, Sydenham and Sylvania Waters.

Some 71% of the respondents were males and 29% were female.

The largest age group were those whose ages ranged from 36 to 45 years of age, and they made up 39% of total respondents.

Generally, it can be said that the use of Indonesian is still very frequent amongst the respondents. This is hardly surprising given that:

- 97% of the respondents were born in Indonesia,
- 89% married spouses of the same nationality, and
- 80% belong to the 26-56 age group, an age range of marriage and children, which, when read in conjunction with the above statistics, would tend to indicate that the majority of the respondents' children were also born in Indonesia.

In this survey, the majority (53%) of the respondents were university graduates, with degrees ranging from Baccalaureates to Masters. However it seems that their educational backgrounds are not indicative of their current occupations, since 39% of them are the 'working class' or *karyawan*, 7% are self-employed business people, 18% are tradespeople and 11% are professionals.

Of those not married, 59% lived with family or friends of the same nationality, and presumably used Indonesian in their domestic communications. Some 23% of the respondents lived with friends of different nationalities and only 18% lived alone. Only 11% of the respondents lived in mixed marriages.

In regard to their dwellings, 52% lived in houses and 48% in apartments, with none living in hostels or boarding houses. There is a tendency amongst Indonesians to live with fellow Indonesians when they are single. They generally move from a flat to a house only when they have married, achieved some financial security and have children.

6.3.2 Analysis of the functions and frequency of the use of Indonesian

6.3.2.1 The use of Indonesian in familial, business and cultural situations

The frequency of the use of Indonesian is remarkably high across all domains of daily communication (Table 6.2). As a means of general communication in the home, 65% of respondents nominated Indonesian as the primary language of communication, with 20% opting for regional languages and 19% for English. When commenting upon what was viewed on television or read in newspapers, 57% used Indonesian, 31% used a regional language, 20% used English and 21% used a combination of Indonesian and English. The fact that the respondents still regarded Indonesian as the most effective and convenient language for imparting information — in recounting events and telling stories — is evident from the fact that 62% used Indonesian, 38% used English and 20% used a mixture of Indonesian and a regional language.

It was expected that the language used between married couples would reveal a preponderance in the use of regional languages. This is because couples who were of the same Indonesian ethnic origin were presumed to have preferred to use their regional languages to express deep emotions which could not otherwise be expressed in other languages. In this survey, however, quite the reverse was true, with Indonesian being the primary language for 59% of the people, and regional languages being used by only 18%.

The fact that couples preferred Indonesian as their primary language at home, rather than a regional language, can probably be explained by the fact that the majority of their marriages were inter-ethnic, so that their only common language was Indonesian. Alternatively, it might also be the case that they wanted their children to know and use Indonesian, without the confusion of regional languages.

This latter point has some substance to it. Irrespective of whether the children were born in Indonesia or Australia, there was a strong tendency for parental communication with children to be in Indonesian (49%), followed by English (24%), and a mixture of Indonesian and English (22%), with only one respondent preferring to use a regional language (1%). Notwithstanding the fact that there is a tendency towards an increasing use of English in the home, Indonesian parents still persisted in using Indonesian when talking to their children. The children of the respondents also accepted the importance of Indonesian in the home. When children spoke to their parents, 39% used Indonesian, 35% used English and 26% used a combination of Indonesian and English. When children communicated with their friends and siblings, however, 43% used English, 32% used Indonesian and 19% used a mixture of English and Indonesian.

The use of Indonesian outside the home is also very frequent. It is generally considered to be the most natural and most effective language to be used amongst the various Indonesian ethnic communities in Sydney. Indonesian is used when discussing matters in depth with members of the family (64%), with fellow

Indonesians (71%) and with professional colleagues of the same nationality (71%). Indonesian is also widely used in the following situations:

- meetings of the Indonesian Association (80%),
- meetings of the ethnic associations (71%),
- meeting to commemorate Indonesia's national day (95%),
- when discussing socio-political matters (76%), and
- when discussing arts and culture (76%).

In the area of religion, Indonesian is especially prominent. Indonesian is used by 83% of respondents in religious ceremonies. Some 90% of sermons, 84% of marriage ceremonies and 86% of burial ceremonies are conducted in Indonesian. Indonesian is also used in private prayer to God (75%), marriage proposals (77%) and when expressing condolences (91%). It is quite clear then that for delicate, culturally sensitive affairs, Indonesian is the primary language used by Indonesians living in Sydney.

6.3.2.2 Attitudes and strategies for using Indonesian

This section attempts to highlight the attitudes, strategies and discretion of Indonesian speakers, in relation to the choice and frequency of use of Indonesian (Table 6.3).

Most Indonesians believe that when writing letters to relatives older than themselves, Indonesian is the appropriate language to use (77%), followed by a mixture of Indonesian and a regional language (15%) and by regional language alone (8%). However, when writing to relatives of the same age or younger a wider choice was available — 69% used Indonesian, 13% used a mixture of Indonesian and a regional language, 7% used English and 7% used a mixture of Indonesian and English. The choice of English was not available in the case of correspondence with the older relatives, because to use English or a mixture of English would have been considered by their elders to be impolite or even insulting.

It is further necessary to explain that the similarity in the frequency of use of a mixture of Indonesian and regional languages in letters, to both older and younger relatives, is motivated by different concerns. The mixture is used when writing to their elders in order to show deference to senior members of the family. When writing to younger members, the mixture represents an attempt to form a sort of emotive peer group bonding. Notwithstanding the fact that the use of Indonesian varies according to the age of the letter's recipient, in both situations the use of Indonesian is still quite frequent.

An interesting aspect of the use of Indonesian occurs when Indonesians are conversing with each other in a public place. When there are no non-Indonesians within earshot, Indonesian was used by 84% of respondents. However, when non-Indonesians are present, the use of Indonesian drops to 16%, while the use of English and a mixture of Indonesian and English increases to 67% and 16% respectively. The preference for English, when there are people of different

nationalities present, is indicative of the strong desire of Indonesians to be polite to those people around them.

Domains of Communication	Frequency of language use in %				
	Bahasa Indonesian	Regional Language	English	Bahasa Indonesian & Regional Language	Bahasa Indonesian & English
At Homes					
General communication	65	20	19	10	3
Comments on the media	57	31	20	21	8
Recounting stories	62	0	38	20	18
Talking to spouses	59	18	9	5	9
Parental use to children	49	1	24	4	22
Children's use to:					
parents	39	0	35	0	26
siblings	32	0	43	6	26
visitors	32	0	32	2	34
In the Community					
Discussing something seriously					
with family members	64	5	10	6	15
outside the family	71	3	2	11	13
Professional discussions	71	0	7	0	23
Meetings of Indon. Assoc.	80	0	0	0	23
Meetings of comm. assoc.	71	55	12	40	9
National day commemoration	95	0	0	3	2
In discussing:					
socio-political affairs	76	0	7	20	33
arts and culture	76	9	8	33	22
Ritual events:					
conduct of a ceremony	83	0	16	n/a	n/a
sermons	90	0	10	n/a	n/a
personal prayer	75	7	3	12	3
In dreaming	70	1	3	12	14
In marriage ceremonies:					
marriage proposals	77	14	9	n/a	n/a
conduct of ceremony	84	2	14	n/a	n/a
family speeches	91	2	7	n/a	n/a
In funeral ceremonies:					
expressing condolences	91	0	9	n/a	n/a
conduct of ceremony	86	1	9	n/a	n/a
family speeches	97	0	3	n/a	n/a

Table 6.2
Domains of Communication by Language⁷⁶

Nevertheless, the respondents indicated that they would clearly prefer to use Indonesian with a non-Indonesian, provided that the latter can speak Indonesian. Indonesians are proud of their language and are quite delighted if foreigners have been able to learn it. In these circumstances when a non-Indonesian guest visits their home, 57% of respondents used Indonesian as the primary language of communication and 43% used English. If an Indonesian, either individually or in a group, meets a non-Indonesian friend who can speak Indonesian, 40% used Indonesian, 30% used English and 30% used a mixture of the two languages.

⁷⁶

The rows do not add up to 100%. Respondents were asked in each case whether they used each one of the options provided 'always', 'frequently', 'sometimes' or 'never'.

When speaking to Indonesian friends on public transport, 72% of the respondents used Indonesian, yet while waiting in government and other public offices it was used by only 56% of people, with 13 % using English and the comparatively high figure of 30% using a mixture of the two. The inclination to use Indonesian rather than other languages is high when:

- two Indonesians first meet (84%),
- Indonesian acquaintances meet (85%), and
- Indonesian friends meet (59%).

Domains of Communication	Frequency of language use in %				
	Bahasa Indonesian	Regional Language	English	Bahasa Indonesian & Regional Language	Bahasa Indonesian & English
Writing letters to:					
older parents/relatives	77	8	0	15	0
relatives of the same age and peers	69	4	7	13	7
Conversing in public places with:					
Indonesians	84	0	0	8	8
Indonesians in the presence of non- Indonesians	16	0	67	0	17
Language used with a non-Indonesian guest who can speak Indonesian	57	0	43	0	0
When meeting a non-Indonesian friend who can speak Indonesian	38	0	33	0	30
When meeting a non-Indonesian friend in the presence of Indonesians	40	0	26	0	34
Upon first meeting a fellow Indonesian	84	0	6	2	8
Upon meeting an Indonesian acquaintance	85	0	3	7	5
Upon meeting an Indonesian who was of a close relationship	59	15	2	16	8
When speaking to fellow Indonesians while waiting in gov't and other public offices	56	0	13	1	30
When using public transport in the company of Indonesians	72	0	3	7	18
When meeting someone who was thought to be Indonesian	33	0	57	0	10

Table 6.3
Frequency and Domain of Language use

Indonesian is the 'polite' language which one uses when meeting Indonesians who are not close friends. However, if an Indonesian meets someone whom they think may be Indonesian, but are not sure, they will use English as the preferred medium of communication (57%), followed by Indonesian (33%) and a mixture of the two languages (10%). The preference for English on this type of occasion is probably due to a desire to avoid the embarrassment of unintentionally insulting an addressee who, while having similar physical characteristics as the speaker, might not in fact be Indonesian.

6.3.2.3 The mastery of Indonesian and the use of appropriate registers in various social situations

The discussion of the mastery of Indonesian and the use of appropriate registers in various social situations was not meant to be a major point of discussion in this survey, as can be seen from the fact that there are very few questions dealing with this point. However since the questions have been asked, the matter should be discussed in order to form a better impression of the respondents' mastery of Indonesian's registers.

To avoid any possible misunderstanding in relation to the analysis, it is first necessary to mention that the mastery of the lexico-grammatical aspect of a language does not always correlate with a mastery of the appropriate registers of the language. This is because the former is unconsciously acquired by all native speakers of the language, whereas the latter requires a wide experience of social situations, sensitivity to the subject matter being discussed, as well as an awareness of the speaker's status in relation to that of the addressee. In short, competence in the lexico-grammatical aspect of Indonesian requires the mastery of linguistic norms, while competence in the appropriate use of the language requires a full understanding of the social norms of the Indonesian community.

In response to the question of how they rated both their oral and written language skills, 57% of respondents believed that they were equally proficient in both, 16% felt that their oral competence was better, 15% claimed that their written competence was better, 10% felt that their proficiency was only average and 2% felt they had less than average language skills (Table 4.6.4). The heterogeneity of the responses seems to indicate — even given the broad nature of the question asked — that the respondents' proficiency in the use of oral and written registers in Indonesian is less than adequate.

Degree of proficiency in oral and written speech	%
Equally proficient	57%
More proficient orally	16%
More proficient written	15%
Standard quality	10%
Sub-standard quality	2%

Table 6.4
Proficiency in the use of Oral and Written Indonesian

This fact is confirmed in the following statistics (Table 6.5). When asked what language variety was used in formal and informal situations, the responses revealed that

- in situations in which formal Indonesian was required respondents used: standard Indonesian (44%), non-standard Indonesian (5%), and a mixture of standard and non-standard Indonesian (51%).
- in situations in which informal Indonesian was required the respondents used: standard Indonesian (5%), non-standard Indonesian (59%), and a mixture of standard and non-standard Indonesian (36%).

Domains of Communication	Variety of Language Used in %		
	Standard	Non-Standard	Mixture
Formal situations	44%	5%	51%
Casual situations	5%	59%	36%
At ritual ceremonies where Indonesian is used	16%	26%	58%
Communication with family member at home in Indonesian.	3%	54%	43%
(Most proficient) variety of Indonesian	10%	16%	74%

Table 6.5
Domain of Communication

The figure for mixtures of standard and non-standard use in both situations give rise to some concern. In a formal situation, such usage would not be regarded as ideal because an addressee of higher social status would certainly not feel comfortable. At ritual meals, where Indonesian was claimed to be used by 85% of respondents, standard/non-standard mixtures were used by 58% of people — clearly very inappropriate, given the formality and solemnity of the occasion. Conversely, in the informal situations, interaction between close friends; fellow peers and family members would become very stiff and awkward because of the injection of standard language into the conversation.

6.3.2.4 The preservation and maintenance of the Indonesian language

Given the prevalence of the use of Indonesian it comes as no surprise to discover that 97% of respondents considered that the language had a significant role in their culture (Table 6.6). Yet its role went beyond this. Respondents believed that the language had an important role in trade and commerce (62%), politics (74%) and as a means to unifying and strengthening the bonds amongst ethnically varied Indonesian communities in Australia (94%).

Rating Bahasa Indonesia	Responses in %		
	Yes	No	Indifferent
Important for culture	97%	0%	3%
Important for trade and commerce	61%	25%	14%
Important in politics	74%	18%	8%
As a means of unification	94%	3%	3%
Do you encourage people to enrol in a course of Indonesian at:			
primary school	84%	2%	14%
secondary school	90%	2%	7%
tertiary institutions	70%	18%	12%
Is it important to maintain Indonesian			
in the home?	92%	2%	6%
outside the home?	76%	8%	16%
in ethnic Indonesian papers?	89%	5%	6%
on 2EA's ethnic Indonesian radio broadcasts?	89%	6%	5%
on SBS's ethnic Indonesian television broadcasts?	89%	1%	10%
Does Indonesian have a bright future as an ethnic language in Australia?	82%	8%	10%
Will the future generation of the Indonesian community will be able to speak Bahasa Indonesia?	95%	3%	2%

Table 6.6
Importance of Indonesian by use

For these reasons Indonesian speakers encouraged their children and their compatriots to enrol in Indonesian language courses, whether at primary (84%), secondary (90%) or tertiary levels (70%). They felt that it was necessary to maintain and develop the use of Indonesian at home (92%), amongst fellow Indonesians outside the home (76%), in the ethnic Indonesian press in Australia (89%), in Indonesian radio broadcasts (89%) and on SBS television (89%).

The respondents were very optimistic about the future of Indonesian as an ethnic community language in Australia (82%) and they believed that future generations of the Indonesian community in Australia would be bilingual (95%), notwithstanding the fact that they would grow up in a Western culture where English was the official language. The respondents overwhelmingly supported all 13 suggestions in the survey for the maintenance and development of the Indonesian language (Table 6.7).

	Already done	Not done but desired	Not desired
Foster the use of Indonesian at home and in the community	63%	34%	3%
Establish Indonesian Association	79%	16%	5%
Establish Indonesian newspapers	67%	28%	5%
Establish Indonesian cultural centre	44%	54%	2%
Establish agencies to import newspapers and magazines from Indonesia	67%	33%	1%
Foster correspondence with relatives and friends in Indonesia	97%	3%	0%
Establish trade relations with companies in Indonesia	67%	26%	7%
Visit Indonesia regularly	80%	20%	0%
Hold regular meetings at:			
the Indonesian Consulate	48%	33%	19%
the Indonesian Association	77%	16%	7%
Hold scholarly seminars	36%	53%	11%
Stage social functions/festivals	74%	23%	3%

Table 6.7
Ways of maintaining the use of Indonesian in Australia

6.3.2.5 Indonesian community expectations of Commonwealth Government assistance for the promotion of Indonesian as a community language

The respondents to the survey had no difficulty in communicating orally in English, as 100% of participants said that they would use English in their dealings with hospitals, police, courts, and departments of Immigration, Ethnic Affairs and Social Security. Only 5% said that they would use an interpreter if one was available. The lack of the need for assistance was confirmed by an official in the Department of Ethnic Affairs, who stated that 'The requests for interpreters in Indonesian and Malaysian are not as frequent as in the other major languages such as Arabic or Vietnamese'.⁷⁷ This is not only due to the fact that there are fewer Indonesian speakers in Australia than there are speakers of other languages. The 15,000 or so Indonesians living in NSW require only 12

⁷⁷ Letter, Grace Dawson, General Manager of the Language Services Division, NSW Ethnic Affairs Commission, 15 May 1992.

pages of translation per annum on average, a figure which is quite low, comparatively speaking.

The same official further mentioned that the assignments usually involved the 'translation of personal documents such as birth and marriage certificates, educational documents and rare requests from government departments' for the translation of informative literature. Hence, it appears that the majority of Indonesians are capable of effectively conversing in English, but wished to have accurate translation of official documents made by qualified professionals.

In spite of their ability to communicate in English, the respondents believed that the Australian governments should assist in the preservation and development of the teaching of Indonesian at all levels of the education system (Table 6.8). They also requested that there be increases in:

- the number of hours of Indonesian broadcasts on ethnic radio,
- the number of Indonesian films on SBS television,
- the coverage of Indonesian social and political affairs on SBS, and
- the availability of Indonesian interpreter services in government departments.

	Yes	No	Indifferent
Increase teaching Indonesian at all levels of the education system	87%	5%	8%
Increase the number of hours of Indonesian broadcasts on ethnic radio	87%	5%	8%
Increase the number of Indonesian films played on SBS television	90%	3%	7%
Increase the coverage of Indonesian social and political affairs	90%	3%	7%
Increase the availability of Indonesian interpreters in both State and Federal government offices	79%	5%	16%

Table 6.8
Requirements in order to maintain Indonesian

6.4 Conclusions

It has been estimated that by mid 1991 34,000 Indonesian-born people were living in Australia, roughly half of them living in the Sydney Metropolitan Area. The response rate to the survey — 61 out of 200 — while disappointing, represents approximately 0.36% of the Indonesians living in NSW. This is much better than the two comparable Indonesian surveys, on the use of Indonesian in East Java and the use of Balinese in Bali, which drew on responses of only 0.000038% and 0.0001% of their respective populations. Furthermore, the respondents were from various Indonesian ethnic communities, religious communities, age groups and educational and occupational backgrounds. For these reasons, we believe the data collected in this survey to be reasonably representative of immigrant Indonesian attitudes about the use of Indonesian in Australia.

It should be mentioned that this survey does not attend to the demographic and socio-economic distribution of the Indonesian immigrants coming to Australia.

Instead, it attempts to illustrate and explain the use and function of Indonesian in various domains of social life in Australia amongst ethnic Indonesians.

As mentioned above, the requests for interpreter services in Indonesian were of low frequency. When these services were required they were usually only in areas which required a competence in specific terminology such as that of the courts, police, gaols, and marriage and domestic problems. Indonesians would appear to be quite capable of carrying on their everyday affairs in English. This is well illustrated by the fact that 100% of the respondents stated that they would use English in the event that they had to visit a government office or deal with a government official.

It is possible that as generations pass, the general trend towards the use of English by the young may see Indonesian replaced by Australian English as the primary language (Price 1990:60). Notwithstanding the fact that the rate of replacement changes over time and between ethnic communities, the total replacement of Indonesian by Australian English, even after several generations, seems unlikely. This is because, as the respondents themselves have indicated, Indonesian and English have two distinct sets of domains of use and have differing functions in a multicultural and multilingual nation like Australia. Indonesian is a community language which has specific social, cultural and linguistic functions related to Indonesian culture, while Australian English is the national language which has its own social, cultural and linguistic uses.

The evidence in this survey indicates that Indonesian plays a very significant role in the life of the Indonesian community in Australia. While English is the language used by the Indonesian community in its communication with the bureaucracy, government, and education and those in the Australian community who do not speak the language, Indonesian meets the Indonesian community's needs for communication in the home and within the community.

Indonesian is used:

- at home for:
general communication with family members,
recounting and telling stories to members of the family,
comments about items seen in the mass media;
- in the community for:
discussions on general and specific affairs with fellow Indonesians of the same or different ethnic origins,
meetings of Indonesian community organisations,
dealings with Indonesian officials in Australia, and conversations at National Day celebrations and at other Indonesian public gatherings,
ritual events, such as weddings and funerals,
teaching future generations to speak Indonesian, and to maintain and promote Indonesian culture,
unifying Indonesians, and strengthening community bonds amongst Indonesians of diverse ethnic origins living in Australia.

English is used:

- at home:
when children communicated with their friends and siblings,

in the presence of non-Indonesians;

- in the community for trade, legal, education and other business with the bureaucracy and government.
-

7 **INDONESIAN/MALAY IN AUSTRALIA: A SURVEY OF AUSTRALIAN COMPANIES AND THEIR NEED OF INDONESIAN/MALAY LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL SKILLS**

7.1 **Introduction**

Ingram has described the period between 1962 and 1986 as one in which languages in education were regarded as principally of academic and high cultural interest, the preserve of students of the arts and dilettantes. Throughout the period there existed a cynical denial of the vocational value of languages other than English unless it could be proven that all students of languages could be gainfully employed or a dollar value could be placed on the additional imports that language skills would generate (Ingram 1992b:8-9).

While Ingram has described well the dominant climate of opinion of these years, the vocational and economic relevance of languages was not entirely absent from the minds of those who wrote reports on the situation of languages other than English. In 1966 Wykes wrote a report on teaching foreign languages in Australian universities for the Australian Humanities Research Council. The Foreword to the report, and the recommendations attached to it, were quite emphatic about Australia's need of languages other than English in its business relationships with other countries. The Council advocated the provision of a wider range of European languages and Asian languages, recommending that universities provide language training not just for students but for those engaged in commerce and industry as well (Wykes 1966:iii, 1). The Auchmuty report on teaching Asian languages and cultures in 1970 also recognised the economic significance of language skills but did not analyse or elaborate upon the role of languages and cultural understanding in fostering overseas trade. Instead, while recognising Australia's involvement in the changing pattern of trade with Asian countries, it argued that language skills and cultural understanding were relevant because they would enhance Australia's ability to compete more effectively in Asian markets and because such proficiency would more adequately equip Australia to contribute to the economic development of these countries. These reports, however, noted that there was clearly a lack of demand from businesses for staff with a proficiency in languages other than English (Ingram 1992:9-10; Wykes 1966:1; Auchmuty 1971:11-3).

In 1975, a major report of the Australian Academy of the Humanities on teaching languages other than English in Australian universities between 1965 and 1973 made no mention of any vocational or economic relevance of a proficiency in languages, although it did express a general concern about the consequences of a cultural and intellectual insularity which it discerned in Australian life. At its pragmatic best, language study was, in the view of this report, capable of fostering international understanding (Ingram 1992b:9 and Leal *et al.* 1991:xxviii-xxix). In this same year, the report of a Working Party of the Universities Commission, established to report on the teaching of languages and linguistics in Australian universities, did take note of the limited opportunities for employment of language graduates. It advocated the adoption of measures

which would make language training available to students in professional courses, believing that this would enhance their prospects of employment in areas in which they would 'use their language skills in practical situations' in commerce and industry (Working Party 1976:29, 30-1, 41).

By 1975 multiculturalism was strongly advocated, giving rise to an emphasis on the teaching and learning of the languages of Australia's migrant communities for reasons of cultural maintenance, community understanding and access to services in Australia's diverse society. The Galbally Review, which addressed these issues, acknowledged the importance of a proficiency in languages for business and professional reasons, but in the context of Australian society rather than for reasons of overseas trade (Ingram 1992b:10).

Serious recognition of the relevance of languages other than English and cultural understanding for Australia's economic development came with the report of the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts in 1984. It was not until 1986, however, that the arguments in support of the relevance of languages other than English to economic life in Australia were fully articulated in a paper presented by Ingram at the Biennial National Conference of the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations (AFMLTA). Despite the scepticism with which this paper was greeted at the conference, the paper attracted considerable attention in the media and the case for the economic relevance of languages other than English became an important facet of Lo Bianco's National Policy on Languages when it was adopted in 1987 (Ingram 1992:10-11).

The incorporation of the case in support of the economic relevance of languages other than English in the National Policy on Languages gave it an official legitimacy. The Commonwealth Government declared its hand on this issue when it incorporated the education portfolio within the purview of the Department of Employment, Education and Training. This action symbolised an important shift in the government's attitude to education. The nation's educational policy and planning were henceforth to be motivated importantly by economic considerations (Clyne 1991:230).

The new emphasis placed upon the economic and vocational relevance of languages was closely associated with the promotion of the study of Asian languages. The Asian Studies Council was established in 1986. The Council and individual business people, who lobbied the Commonwealth Government in an attempt to improve the teaching of Asian languages and cultures in Australian education, were quick to stress the importance of these languages and cultures for Australia's overseas trading and international relationships (Clyne 1991:230).

The emphasis placed upon Asian languages and cultures, however, reactivated old rivalries between the proponents of different languages. The backlash came in particular from teachers and academics of non-Asian languages. While the atmosphere of competition, according to Clyne, was unfortunate as it undermined the opportunities created by the realisation of the value of multilingualism, it did more positively provide the stimulus necessary for the advocates of non-Asian languages to develop economic rationales for these other languages, as is evident, for example, in the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia (1989). Recognition of the economic value of languages has been important in

shaping a multicultural Australia, where until the mid 1980s languages had been largely a thing of education and the languages of Australia's migrant communities had been promoted in the cause of cultural maintenance and social justice. Precisely because the economic rationale attaches a pragmatic value to the use of languages beyond the classroom and beyond individual migrant communities it empowers speakers of these languages by facilitating their greater participation in the attainment of mainstream national goals (Clyne 1991:230-1; Marriott 1991:16-7; Jayasuriya 1989:48).

Since 1987 there has been a proliferation of reports and forums which have drawn attention to the importance of developing language skills and cultural understanding in Australia in the context of strategies designed to bring about economic recovery (Ingram 1992:11-5; Marriott 1991:17). Important amongst the reports of the period was that of Stanley, Ingram and Chittick, *The Relationship between International Trade and Linguistic Competence*, submitted to AACLAME (Department of Employment Education and Training) and published in 1990.

The report was in part based upon a survey of predominantly small to medium sized Australian companies and intended to elicit their attitudes toward the need for skills in languages other than English. According to Stanley *et al.* (1990) their attitudes reflected the fact that many such firms were still experimenting in exporting to non-English speaking countries.

The authors report that at least some Australian firms were aware of the value of employees with skills in languages other than English. Analysis of the Australian Award Winners in 1987 revealed that the finalists (35) employed as many as four times as many people fluent in Japanese, Chinese, Arabic or French as the average non-finalist (196). However, the survey of 2,000 companies carried out by the authors of the report revealed that:

Among the business community at large the attitude toward the need for foreign languages in their activities is one of suspicion and indifference (1990:18, 97).

The authors noted the persistence of the assumption that English is the language of international trade; the belief that knowledge of a culture — of the local market and business practices — and knowledge of a language can be separated. Paradoxically, when asked about their perceptions of obstacles to foreign trade, they ranked lack of the relevant language lowly, but they gave high ranking to other obstacles dependant on a knowledge of a language. Business people appear to recognise that they have considerable communication difficulties in gathering market intelligence and effectively promoting their products overseas. At the same time they consider knowledge of the relevant foreign language of little significance (Stanley *et al.* 1990:16-7).

The authors of the report ascribe the persistence of these attitudes to a vicious circle: lack of knowledge of the effect of poor communication confirms monolingual marketing as satisfactory which gives rise to continued low performance which discourages further effort and so experience of overseas marketing remains at a low level (Stanley *et al.* 1990:18). To break through the dynamics of this vicious circle is not easy because, as the authors of the report

explain, the monolingual business person 'is simply unable to understand that activities and the business environment can be conducted and experienced in a very different way and according to a very different set of rules and perceptions'. This sense of difference 'cannot be known only at an intellectual level, it has to be experienced to be understood'. Business people's associations of languages other than English are confined to their school experiences, 'academic classroom centred' and 'difficult to relate to the business world' (Stanley *et al.* 1990:19).

Most Australian firms are small by world standards. Their efforts to market their products overseas are hampered by inter-firm and interstate rivalries, by the fact that the resources which Australian firms manage are limited. In these circumstances management is attracted to less risky and greater profits than is possible in Asian markets, where longer term horizons are required and where Japanese, North American, European and East Asian competitors have established themselves with a 'competitive intensity alien to Australian culture'. Hughes has commented upon the 'passivity' of Australian firms in entering Asian markets and linked it to Australian experience in the country's expanding trade with Japan. The expansion of trade with Japan, claims Hughes, was managed by the Japanese and backed by Japanese investment in Australia, a pattern that she believes was repeated in the case of other Asian trading partners (Hughes 1988 :188-9).

In the midst of the current recession, the Centre for Export Marketing of the Australian Graduate School of Management at the University of New South Wales surveyed 200 Australian companies with 200 or more employees. The report claims that these firms were 'in many ways the elite of Australian business'. Only a minority amongst them were truly internationally competitive or were in the process of developing a significant competitive position overseas. The remainder, 85% of the companies surveyed, either had no international presence or relatively minor involvement with overseas markets (Centre for Export Marketing 1991:i-ii). The authors of the report also noted the passivity of Australian managers towards internationalising their businesses and the absence of concrete action to export to foreign markets. However, they argued that this was not because the senior management of most firms believed that there were no benefits to be had from internationalising their businesses, were not well informed about the nature of international competition or were not aware of what was needed to improve the competitiveness of their businesses. Rather they were responding to the harsh economic environment in which Australian companies had been operating in recent times. Respondents in the survey pointed to the costs of labour and capital and to infrastructural problems as having a major influence on their ability to compete internationally. In these circumstances, beyond mining and possibly agriculture, it would be difficult to develop business which could compete internationally.

The authors of this report did not accept the inevitability of this outcome. Instead, they argued more optimistically that harsh economic times had in fact made Australian firms stronger and more efficient. The lowering of interest rates, the multiskilling of the Australian workforce, the lowering of tariffs supported by an enlightened long-term industry policy from government, the report argued, would better equip Australian firms to compete in overseas markets. However, the report warned that the simple reduction of tariffs without supporting industry policies would have a negative impact on a

substantial number of Australian enterprises. The global market in the twenty-first century would not be a level playing field but a highly competitive environment in which the advantage would undoubtedly be with those countries that had 'clear objectives, that [understood] both their competitive strengths and the constantly changing needs of the market and recognise[d] the subtleties of nurturing effective companies' by blending 'the benefits of the free market with the protection of their longer term political and economic interests' (Centre for Export Marketing 1991:ii-iii).

In accordance with their view that the root of the problems confronting the improved international competitiveness of Australian industry lay with the values of top management, the authors of the report designated four areas for attention. They, like Stanley *et al.*, placed emphasis on the reform of Australian management education. Training and development programs were required which included cultural appreciation, more detailed knowledge of global competition and the development of longer-term strategic plans (Centre for Export Marketing 1991:iv; Stanley *et al.* 1990:99). There were, however, two barriers which stood in the way of changing top management culture in this respect: the lack of trainers and programs in international business and the low priority human resource managers placed on such activities. In addressing the first of these barriers a change of attitude was especially required of tertiary institutions 'who tended to see such issues from within the framework of single disciplines'. Wisdom overseas had it that 'an international orientation should be infused throughout the curricula of executive programs or MBAs'. The second barrier, the authors of the report thought, might not be a major issue, because many individual managers appeared to be more prepared to undertake training than their companies were to provide it. Nevertheless it would be better if corporate priorities were changed (Centre for Export Marketing 1991:iv).

The study also discovered that 'very few managers [spoke] another language, and even if they [did] it [was] likely to be inappropriate for Australia's role in the Pacific Rim economy' (Centre for Export Marketing 1991:v). In view of this situation, the lack of command of languages amongst managers put Australian business enterprises at a considerable disadvantage, because they simply lacked the ability to understand and negotiate with customers and partners in other countries. Again the report recommended that tertiary institutions be encouraged to develop language training programs within degrees in commerce and business studies and to develop links with comparable institutions within the region. The report also argued an expanded role for immigrants in the management and development of international trade. The authors of the report found quite inexplicable the lack of awareness amongst human resource managers of the language and cultural skills of their existing personnel. Failure to recognise these skills amongst existing personnel was, in the view of the report, a waste of a valuable national resource.

Thirdly, the report addressed problems in the area of product development and the closely related issue of customer orientation. Very conservative strategies towards product development and 'a distinct lack of customer orientation towards overseas customers' were characteristic of senior management. The chief problem here was that many companies in fact perceived themselves to be customer oriented. This may well have been true in the Australian market-place. However, it is not surprising to learn that senior management, lacking the

linguistic skills and cultural knowledge which comes from experience in overseas markets, have not been in a position to analyse systematically the needs of their foreign customers. The report found that there was 'a degree of urgency to the task of instilling a more rigorous and professional approach to overseas market intelligence, competitive analysis and, most importantly of all, customer research'. Such a project was likely to be costly. For those companies who had already a significant presence overseas the cost was manageable and the need one of convincing them to match their overseas competitors in the area of customer research. For those companies with a lower level of international involvement and less able to afford the investment required, however, the solution probably was to be found in industry level co-operation and the efforts of government agencies involved in the promotion of trade (Centre for Export Marketing 1991:v-vi).

Finally it was important in the view of the authors of the report to promote a positive view of Australia's economic future if talented managers were to be recruited. 'There is a continued need to promote economic understanding and the positive side to business and industry, especially within the school system and tertiary institutions' if this was to occur. Certainly the survey of students undertaken for this study found little student interest in international business as a career and in management careers in general. Students preferred to seek their futures as professionals, careers which were perceived to bring greater status and monetary rewards (Centre for Export Marketing 1991:vi, 50-1).⁷⁸

In 1988 the Asian Studies Council produced its *National Strategy for the Study of Asia in Australia* and, in January 1989, Ingleson submitted his report *Asia in Australian Higher Education* to the Council. The authors of both documents took as their point of departure the value of a command of Asian languages and a knowledge of Asian countries to Australia's economic strategies. The authors of the *National Strategy* asserted 'Asia is central to our trade, our foreign policy and our future' (*National Strategy* 1988:2), and Ingleson justified the need Australians have to be proficient in Asian languages and to be knowledgeable about Asian cultures in the following terms:

The premises are simple. Australia is located at the foot of Asia. Asia contains the fastest growing economies in the world. Asian countries are increasingly prosperous and are increasingly large importers of commodities, manufactured goods and services. Australia's share of that import trade has steadily declined over the past decade. Australia's future economic prosperity is inexorably connected to Asia (Ingleson 1989:33).

These two documents, and others like them, which stress the value of languages other than English for the future development of the Australian economy, take as their point of departure summarised analyses of Australia's economic difficulties in a region in which other national economies have been enjoying unprecedented growth. It is argued that Australia is located in a regional economic system which is growing more rapidly than the economies of North America and Europe. It is a regional economy which is becoming increasingly

⁷⁸ Compare Hughes 1988 for another analysis of reasons why Australian firms find it difficult to operate in Asian markets.

integrated. Centred on Japanese manufacturing industry, trade and investment, it incorporates the burgeoning economies of Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, the ASEAN countries and China.

While the economies of all these nations have been rapidly growing, the Australian economy has slipped into recession. Our trade with Asian countries, and Japan in particular, has been dominated by the export of agricultural and mineral commodities. The value of these commodity exports, in comparison with the value of the manufactured goods and capital which Australia imports, have been steadily declining, giving rise to significant current account deficits and to the high level of our foreign debt. Moreover, Australia's share of the growth in imports into Asian countries has declined significantly.

The response of the Australian Government to this situation has been to put in place policies designed to restructure the Australian economy. It has sought to diversify our commodity exports through processing, and to increase the export of both high value manufactured goods and of services, particularly education, technology and tourism.

The authors of the *National Strategy* and Ingleson categorically assert that if Australia is to find and develop markets in Asia then increasing numbers of Australians will have face-to-face dealings with nationals of a variety of Asian countries. More than this: if these contacts are to take us along the path to economic recovery then old and fallacious attitudes and practices, which have marked our dealings with other nations, will have to go. The *National Strategy* lists these fallacious attitudes and practices:

The fallacy that we can make do with interpreters, supplied by the other side, when we will never know whether the other side understands precisely what we are saying or even understands us at all.

The fallacy that we do not need to train Australians because we can employ Asians to do the job.

The fallacy that English is the language of business in Asia because our trading partners speak English, when in North Asia and most of Southeast Asia we cannot read their newspapers, understand their television, comprehend a word of what is said by their non-English speaking colleagues, advisers, boss, business partners, or politicians, or even know what language they are speaking when they negotiate with persons from another Asian country.

The fallacy that we do not need to do what our trading partners do — which is to demand that their people master other people's languages (*National Strategy* 1988:10).

It is argued that such attitudes and practices will disappear as new generations of Australians learn the linguistic and cultural skills which they will need to work effectively in Asian countries in the national interest. The *National Strategy* stipulates three levels of expertise for which our educational strategies will need to provide. We will need at the top 'an expanding cadre of people with commercial and technical knowledge of Asia for the frontline of our

economic activity in Asia'. Then we will require 'a broad stratum of support people in management, technical and service personnel area with a good knowledge of Asian markets and Asian language and country skills'. Finally we 'need a general education for all Australians which includes Asia and Australia's place in it'. This will 'provide both the necessary constituency for our economic strategy and the reservoir from which will come broad support stratum and profession markets and negotiators' (*National Strategy* 1988:11-12).

Ingleson in his report is more specific about the areas of future employment. We will require, he says, 'a small corps of people with high language and cultural skill' who as 'business strategic planners, high level diplomats, defence strategic analysts' will monitor economic and political developments in Asian countries. However we will require also many more people with communication skills and cultural knowledge for employment in what he terms 'new trades':

In general, these new trades in finance, services and investment require large numbers of people with ... communication skills. There is a general picture of strongly rising demand for a range of skills in the tourism industry, of demand for accountants, lawyers, real estate brokers, bankers, and those who staff finance and brokerage houses (1989:44).

Such then is the polemic in support of the value of Asian languages to Australia's economic strategies. How then do Australian businesses trading with Indonesia view the matter? What sort of expertise do Australian companies trading with Indonesia seek when employing staff? Do they perceive a need for staff with skills in Asian languages and culture? How do they acquire the services of people with such skills? For which purposes do they need them? Are companies satisfied with present arrangements for accessing such skills?

In early 1991 Gavin Williams wrote his report *Australia/Indonesia. The Business Relationship* for the Australia-Indonesia Institute. In it he argued that the business relationship between the two countries had failed 'to fulfil its potential' because of a number of impediments which stood in the way of Australian companies taking advantage of the opportunities which existed.

Apart from Australia's poor global trading performance, especially in the non-mining and agricultural sectors, he drew particular attention to the lack of information in Australia about the commercial opportunities which existed in Indonesia and the lack of expertise in assessing those opportunities which did exist. 'Australian companies have little knowledge, understanding or "feel" for Indonesia' (1991:11). These companies, claimed Williams, were both generally unfamiliar with Indonesia and its economy and uncertain about particular issues, such as corruption, problems in the regions, general economic and political stability and lack the precise information which will enable them to take advantage of the market and investment opportunities which are available. In this situation commercial decisions are frequently delayed and opportunities elsewhere are pursued. In doing so, they fail to notice that companies from other countries do conduct extensive business in Indonesia.

Williams proposed a number of valuable and pragmatic measures to improve this situation. He noted the need for the Australian Government to encourage

industry to become more internationally competitive and export oriented, the need to improve the coverage in the Australian press of economic and business affairs in Indonesia, the need to hold conferences and seminars in which those with 'direct experience and personal knowledge of Indonesia and its commercial environment' would be invited to share their knowledge, the importance of regular bilateral discussions on the subject of trade between ministers, the management of tied aid and soft loan packages to encourage Australian companies. However, despite his opinion that the lack of expertise on Indonesia was one of the chief impediments to the growth of Australian companies doing business with Indonesia, nowhere does he address the long term question of how such expertise is to be created and nowhere does the report mention the contribution which a proficiency in Indonesian and an understanding of Indonesian culture might make to the improvement of the business relationship between the two countries.

However Peter Church President of the Australia Indonesia Business Council, writing in the *ASAA Review* in 1990, was quite adamant about the question of the use of Indonesian and the status of English in the world of business relations with Indonesia. While he recognised the great advantage he had enjoyed because of his command of Indonesian, the bottom line was that 'English is the language of business' and that success in business depends finally upon the reconciliation of business interests to the mutual advantage of the parties concern, not upon the language employed. Church is equally clear on the matter of employable skills. Even if those responsible for teaching Asian studies were to promise hundreds of linguists in Asian languages each year, it would be of little advantage to the business community. In order of priority, he listed employable skills as a 'hard discipline' such as engineering, accounting, architecture etc, cultural and historical knowledge, and only then what he describes as a 'working knowledge' of Indonesian, not 'total fluency' (1990:101-2).

The kind of difference which exists between the general case in support of the relevance which a proficiency in languages and cultural understanding has for Australia's business relationships with overseas countries, and the views of those engaged in business is nowhere more apparent than between the reports of Stanley *et al.* and the remarks of Peter Church. Further examples of these differences of view can be found in the short papers and remarks in the Review of the Asian Studies Association of Australia of April 1991. The gap in perceptions has been closed in recent times by the more studied considerations of Ingram (1992) and Marriott and Neustupny (1991) on this issue.

Marriott's reference to the practices of Japanese companies in this regard indicates that she remains insistent that linguistic proficiency and cultural understanding have much to offer Australian business people engaged in trade abroad (Marriott 1991:21-4). However, her reference to Neustupny's levels of Asian literacy is valuable for the realism with which they accept both that English will necessarily continue to be used by some business people as the norm and that different levels of linguistic and cultural competence will be appropriate depending on the particular types of interaction in which particular individuals and companies will be engaged (Marriott 1991:18-21). This vision is a considerable advance on generalised claims of the relevance of languages and cultural understanding to business. Ingram also makes proposals which recognise appropriateness of the same kinds of differential levels of linguistic and cultural

competence. He advocates the need to identify carefully the linguistic and cultural needs which particular companies have. This involves an auditing process which examines a company's activities and markets, and the linguistic and cultural knowledge which specific sectors and individuals in the companies have. Only then might training programs be sensibly devised to cater for the companies (Ingram 1992:17).

7.2 Two surveys of Australian companies doing business with Indonesia

7.2.1 Introduction

In the context of growing public discussion of the need to provide Australian business personnel with Indonesian language and cultural skills, the Language Unit of the Faculty of Arts at the University of New South Wales undertook two surveys of Australian companies doing business with Indonesia. The first survey was one of companies in the Sydney metropolitan area and the second of companies in Jakarta, Indonesia. The Language Unit of the Faculty of Arts at the University of New South Wales made the findings of the first of these surveys available to the NLLIA's Key Languages Project for Indonesian/Malay. The second was jointly financed by the Language Unit and the NLLIA Key Languages Project for Indonesian/Malay.

7.2.2 Aim of the surveys

Both surveys were intended to determine the need of Indonesian language and cultural skills amongst Australian companies doing business with Indonesia, to ascertain these companies' opinions of the present and future trade relationship between Australian and Indonesia, and whether Australian companies consider Indonesian language and cultural training as beneficial in the business relationship between the two countries and, if beneficial, what form it might take. The companies approached were also asked to provide examples of Indonesian business letters, promotional materials, contracts and any other non-confidential documents which might be used as course materials.

7.2.3 Methodology

The survey was planned and carried out in three phases:

- Stage 1: Design of the questionnaires
- Stage 2: Sampling procedures
- Stage 3: Administration of the questionnaires.

Stage 1: Design of the questionnaires⁷⁹

In formulating the questions to be included in the questionnaires for both surveys, other reports based on similar surveys of companies were consulted (Valverde 1990, Blackman, Chamberlain and Montiel 1990 and Stanley, Ingram and Chittick 1990). The questionnaires included both closed-ended and open-ended responses as appropriate. The questions sought responses on several areas of information. These included the name, size and nature of the companies, the nature of their business communications, skills of staff, need of Indonesian language training, desired areas of language training, the nature and effect of communication breakdowns, the nature of the Australian/Indonesian business relationship, and lastly other comments or information of interest.

The questionnaire used in the survey in Jakarta was substantially the same as that used in Sydney. However, adjustments were made to questions 8 and 13 to make them relevant to the situation in Jakarta. Further elements were also added to question 8 in the questionnaire administered in Jakarta to elicit more detailed information. Question 17 (1-4) was added to the Jakarta questionnaire to elicit responses on a number of issues relevant to the NLLIA Key Languages Project for Indonesian.

Stage 2: Sampling Procedures

In the case of the survey in Sydney, a list of 50 companies was compiled from a list of 800 companies registered with Austrade as trading with Indonesia, from a further list obtained from the Indonesian Trade Commission in Sydney, from companies recommended by those interviewed and from personal acquaintances currently trading with Indonesia. All 50 companies approached were confined to the Sydney metropolitan area. Companies in the far southern and western suburbs were contacted by phone or returned their questionnaires by facsimile. It would have been possible to survey more companies but funding did not permit this.

Because of the poor response rate to questionnaires mailed out in the case of the Blackman, Chamberlain and Montiel survey (1990), representatives of the companies selected were interviewed in person. The companies readily agreed to this procedure. The interviews allowed those interviewed to elaborate their answers to questions. All the business people interviewed in both Sydney and Jakarta were helpful and keen to impart information.

A list of 40 companies in Jakarta was compiled from the 1992 Austrade directory of Australian companies and joint ventures operating in Indonesia. All 40 companies agreed to participate in the survey but three cancellations of appointments subsequently occurred because of other important business meetings.

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The questionnaires used in this survey can be obtained from Dr David Reeve, Languages Unit, Faculty of Arts, University of New South Wales.

Stage 3: Administration of the Questionnaires

The survey in Sydney was carried out at the end of 1991 and beginning of 1992 and that in Jakarta took place in mid 1992. The questionnaires to be used in Sydney and Jakarta were first trialled. Ten companies in Sydney and eight in Jakarta were selected for this purpose. Once adjustments had been made to the questionnaires as a result of these pilot surveys, they were then administered to the 40 remaining companies in Sydney and the 29 remaining in Jakarta. Plans were made to interview some Indonesian business people in Jakarta who were working for Australian or joint venture companies. In the end only two such interviews took place with Indonesian managers at the end of the survey in Jakarta.

The administration of the surveys and associated interviews were conducted by Ms Monica Wulff, a graduate of the Department of Indonesian and Malayan Studies at the University of Sydney and a fluent speaker of Indonesian. Ms Wulff was responsible for the analysis of the responses to both questionnaires. The following discussion is based on her analysis.

7.2.4 Results and discussion

The analysis below is a synthesis of the two surveys. Because of the lack of funds, no statistical analysis or cross tabulations were carried out by computer. The analysis rests, therefore, on responses to the individual questions and on other information gathered during the interviews.

7.2.4.1 Profile of the companies

Question 1. Name of Company.

All 87 companies stated their correct name.

Question 2. Size of Company, ie, the number of employees.

The size of the companies varied considerably, but as was the case with Stanley *et al.* (1990:7), we are discussing, in the main, small to medium size companies. Some 47% of the companies in the sample had less than 50 employees and 73% under 200.

No. of Employees	Sydney Survey	Jakarta Survey	Total
1-10	11	3	14 (16%)
11-20	5	4	9 (9%)
21-50	8	11	19 (22%)
51-100	6	5	11 (13%)
101-200	4	7	11 (13%)
Over 200	16	7	23 (26%)

Table 7.1
Size of companies surveyed

Question 3. What are your business dealings with Indonesia?

The business activities of the companies interviewed in this survey were extremely varied, ranging from industrial construction to English language courses, from architectural consultancies to clothing importers, and from a cattle feed lot business to telecommunications, to name but a few.

Question 4a. What proportion of your business is with Indonesia?

49/50 companies in Sydney and 35/37 companies in Jakarta answered.

Proportion	Sydney Responses	Jakarta Responses	Total Responses
< 5%	20	3	23 (28%)
5-25%	10	0	10 (12%)
26-50%	9	0	9 (11%)
50-100%	7	32	39 (47%)

*Table 7.2
Proportion of business conducted with Indonesia*

In the Sydney survey, 30/49 companies (61%) did less than a quarter of their business with Indonesia, whereas 91% of those companies in the Jakarta survey do the majority of their work with Indonesia. This is hardly surprising; a company established in Jakarta is likely to be there precisely because it had a greater business commitment to Indonesia.

Question 4b. Do you intend to expand your business with Indonesia in the future?

31/50 companies in Sydney and 35/37 companies in Jakarta answered.

All 31 companies in Sydney who answered the question and 32/35 in Jakarta said that they intended to expand their business with Indonesia in the future. The companies were enthusiastic about their desire to increase trade, and many of the firms had already experienced significant increases in business in recent years. Clearly the overwhelming majority of firms in these surveys (72%) saw a positive business future either with or within Indonesia.

7.2.4.2 Business communications

Question 5. Do your business transactions with Indonesia occur in Australia or Indonesia?

49/50 companies in Sydney and all 37 companies in Jakarta answered.

Place	Sydney Survey	Jakarta Survey	Total Responses
In Indonesia	24	24	48 (56%)
In both countries	19	13	32 (37%)
In Australia	6	0	6 (7%)

*Table 7.3
Proportion of business conducted in Australia and Indonesia*

Some 56% of the business transactions with Indonesia of the companies in the survey took place in Indonesia and a further 37% took place in both countries.

This compares with only 7% of transactions which took place exclusively in Australia.

Question 6. In which language do most of your business transaction occur?

49/50 companies in Sydney and all 37 companies in Jakarta answered.

Language	Sydney Survey	Jakarta Survey	Total Responses
English	43	24	67 (78%)
English and Indonesian	3	8	11 (13%)
Indonesian	3	5	8 (9%)

Table 7.4
Language used in business transactions

None of the respondents who used English exclusively was fluent in Indonesian. Of the smaller group who used Indonesian and English, all were fluent or near fluent speakers of Indonesian and they chose whichever language they thought to be appropriate at the time. They tended to speak Indonesian to Indonesian colleagues but would resort to English for business meetings. Thus socialising and everyday business communication was done in Indonesian and the 'important' work done in English. Two of the eleven were Indonesian language university graduates and all the respondents possessed a long working history in or with Indonesia. Three of the eight respondents who predominantly used Indonesian for business purposes were Indonesian language university graduates and, once again, all eight had had many years living in or working with Indonesia.

Question 7a. Does your company use local agents in Indonesia?

All 50 companies in Sydney and 36/37 companies in Jakarta answered.

Response	Sydney Survey	Jakarta Survey	Total Responses
Yes	28	15	43 (50%)
No	22	21	43 (50%)

Table 7.5
Use of local agents in Indonesia

Of the 43 who said no, twelve had their own offices in Indonesia, ten had an association with an Indonesian company, four were the local agents, four were looking for local agents and four were Indonesian companies with Australian expatriates.

Question 7b. How do you recruit local agents?

The responses to this question were varied. The main methods were referrals and introductions to Indonesian agents by Australian companies. Some took advice from potential customers as to which agency to choose, while others left the decision to their Indonesian marketing staff. This seems to indicate that companies prefer to use word of mouth and contacts in similar fields of business when choosing their agents.

Only two of the companies specified going through Austrade (one each from the Sydney and Jakarta surveys) and one of these companies still had trouble finding a good agent. In this case, agents would agree to market the company product and, depending on whether the product was successful or not, would agree to

continue or to drop the product, regardless of contracts having been signed. This respondent was not the only one to describe the problem of trying to gauge genuine commitment from agents. It is not surprising, therefore, that Australian companies prefer to rely on the experience of other companies when looking for reliable agents.

An engineering consultant with 16 years' experience in Indonesia believed that it was extremely dangerous, even foolish, to try and find one's own agents in Indonesia without either previous work experience in Indonesia, contacts through existing companies or assistance from Austrade.

Those who did not use local agents usually recruited staff through word of mouth, advertisements in newspapers, search agencies, poaching highly regarded staff from other companies and direct recruitment from the universities. On the whole, expatriate staff were recruited through Australian companies in Australia. Senior Indonesian staff were recruited by expatriate staff in Indonesia and less senior Indonesian staff were recruited by senior Indonesian staff there.

Because the supply of lower level Indonesian staff is so high, Indonesians looking for work with Australian expatriates must undergo a stringent screening which places an emphasis upon fluency in English. Thus a well qualified secretary or even an engineer, who has little or no English, has only a very slim chance of employment, and there is a clear preference given to Western-educated Indonesians.

Question 7c. How happy have you been with the agents?

16/28 companies in Sydney and 11/15 companies in Jakarta which use agents answered.

Response	Sydney Survey	Jakarta Survey	Total Responses
Problematic	3	4	7 (26%)
Good	7	6	13 (48%)
Excellent	6	1	7 (26%)

Table 7.6
Satisfaction with local agents

Some 74% of the respondents to this question indicated that they were satisfied with their agents. Those who were pleased with their agents generally did not elaborate, presumably because of the smooth running of the business. One respondent pointed out the problem of good agents becoming popular in the business community, making them increasingly difficult to access. Another felt that their agent was excellent with other Indonesian companies but not aggressive enough towards foreign investors. Of those who were unhappy with their agents, the problem of agents wanting to make a quick profit, and breaking contracts if unable to do so, was reiterated. Because of this, some Australian firms preferred not to use agents if at all possible. However, Australian businesses seem to be reasonably satisfied with the agents they had.

Question 7d. How happy have you been with local staff?

This question was only asked in Jakarta and 10/37 companies answered.

Response	Jakarta Survey
Problematic	1 (10%)
Good	7 (70%)
Excellent	2 (20%)

Table 7.7
Satisfaction with local staff

There is a strong tendency to poach local staff with good reputations from other companies and from Austrade. Even those generally pleased with their local staff, however, indicated that they had some difficulty with cultural problems, the main one of which involved the carrying out of instructions. One respondent explained that instructions had to be given in such a way that no room to make decisions was required of the person about to perform a task because jobs would often be left undone if the staff had to take any initiative. Such is the nature of the employer/employee relationship in Indonesia. Generally English language fluency was not regarded as a major problem, even amongst the lower level office staff, as they could be monitored by more senior, English-speaking Indonesian staff.

Question 8. Does your company make use of non-company interpreting and translating services?

All 87 companies answered the question.

Response	Sydney Survey	Jakarta Survey	Total Responses
Yes	3	23	26 (30%)
No	47	14	61 (70%)

Table 7.8
Use of interpreting and translation services

Quite clearly, more use of translators and interpreters was made in Jakarta than in Sydney. This situation correlates well with the finding that in both cities the Australian staff conduct their affairs primarily in English. In Jakarta, of course, there exists a greater need to communicate in Indonesian with Indonesians who have no (adequate) command of English.

Those who did use translating and interpreting services required them for translating technical and legal documents, contracts, documents for official circulation, feasibility studies, reports, business letters and the like. It was usually left to secretaries to do the practical job of employing translating and interpreters. Generally the Jakarta respondents were satisfied with the work done by translating services there, although there were complaints about lost meanings, overly literal translations and the continual need to re-edit documents. It was the opinion of one education consultant that, while there were excellent translation services in Jakarta, it took time to find one which was well suited to one's needs.

Of the 47 Sydney companies which did not use professional translators, 35 offered explanations as to how they dealt with interpreting and translating. Twenty-three had their agents or office in Indonesia look after the matter, seven had private contacts and fluent speakers on staff, three had all their dealings with high-ranking Indonesian Government officials who were fluent in English,

and two used universities, the Indonesian Embassy or the Australia-Indonesia Institute.

All 14 respondents in Jakarta who did not use an outside translation service had the work done in-house by English-speaking Indonesian staff. Even those firms which did use outside translation services usually restricted this to the important documents of business and had less important material translated in-house.

Question 9a. What channels of communication does your company have with Indonesian business partners?

All 50 companies in Sydney and 36/37 companies in Jakarta answered.

Written Communication	Sydney Survey	Jakarta Survey	Total Responses
Promotional material	30	34	64 (74%)
Facsimile	49	35	84 (98%)
Letters	32	36	68 (79%)
Computer	18	17	35 (41%)

Table 7.9
Written communication with Indonesian business partners

Other written materials included contracts, telexes, technical documents, publications, joint venture agreements, drawings, proposals and news bulletins.

Oral Communication	Sydney Survey	Jakarta Survey	Total Responses
Selling/negotiating	33	33	66 (77%)
Telephone	44	36	80 (93%)
Entertaining	24	35	59 (69%)
Exchanges of pleasantries	21	33	54 (63%)

Table 7.10
Oral communication with Indonesian business partners

Other oral communications mentioned were trade fairs, business/planning/budget meetings, conferences, site visits, presentations and seminars.

Question 9b. What Indonesian language transactions are handled in Sydney?

26/50 companies in Sydney and all 37 companies in Jakarta answered.

A total of 61 respondents (97%) stated that no Indonesian language transactions took place in Sydney. Of the remaining two respondents, one had a fluent speaker of Indonesian on staff and the other was a language school with trained Indonesian teachers who helped recruit students to study English in Australia.

Question 10. If appropriate courses for specific Indonesian business language training were available, what areas of training — social, survival, business or cultural practices skills — would you consider most beneficial in doing business with Indonesia?

All 87 companies answered. Unfortunately the Jakarta and the Sydney surveys differ in their methodology on this question, so it is not possible to fully synthesise the statistics in a single table.

When asked about the relative importance of these skills the Sydney group said:

Importance	Social (/45)	Survival (/26)	Business (/31)	Cultural (/39)
First	31 (69%)	4 (15%)	11 (35%)	11 (28%)
Second	6 (13%)	3 (11%)	2 (6%)	11 (28%)
Third	1 (2%)	5 (19%)	6 (19%)	3 (8%)
Did not specify	16 (35%)	9 (35%)	12 (39%)	15 (38%)

Table 7.11
Required areas of language training

The overall response to the question indicates that Indonesian language related to social skills (90%) and cultural practices (78%) is regarded as most important. Almost all businesses in the Sydney survey felt that the ability to hold a friendly social conversation in Indonesian would demonstrate their respect for Indonesian culture and people and thus create goodwill and the possibility of a good business relationship. Equally, by knowing the values of another culture they would be less likely to cause offence and jeopardise business relationships. Most said that it would be a great advantage to be able to conduct business in Indonesian, but felt that it would take too long to acquire a proficiency in Indonesian commensurate with their own proficiency of English. Several respondents were keen to point out that English was the international language of trade and their fluency in English offered them an obvious advantage which they were wary of sacrificing.

The other factor discouraging respondents learning Indonesian for business purposes concerned the resources which would be necessary to train staff already working in the field. Most, however, agreed that it would be a good idea for universities to have a three year course in 'Indonesian for Business'. Nevertheless many were sceptical that a sufficiently high level of language skill could be achieved, even over three years, to justify using Indonesian rather than English as the language of trade.

Survival skills were regarded by most as common sense and therefore unnecessary to be taught in a language course. Several respondents were keen to emphasise the importance of *Bahasa Indonesia pasar* ('market Indonesian') to communicate with the domestic servants.

A recurrent theme was the desire to understand Indonesian in order to be able to eavesdrop on conversations between agents and potential clients, or what was being discussed at meetings that was not being officially translated for them. Many expressed a sense of frustration at their lack of control in such situations because they were not able to understand what was being said in between what was communicated in English.

The Jakarta survey evinced some clear differences concerning the relative importance of the four language skills.

Although knowledge of social skills and language related to cultural practices were considered most beneficial in doing business with Indonesia, as was the case

in the Sydney survey, several business people stressed that Australians working with Indonesians should not rely on creating goodwill by virtue of being able to say a few polite phrases. It was felt that Indonesians were more likely to be offended at badly learned social politeness and that it would be better for all concerned if they just spoke English.

Importance	Social (/37)	Survival (/37)	Business (/37)	Cultural (/37)
First	20 (54%)	15 (40%)	1 (3%)	16 (43%)
Second	15 (40%)	4 (11%)	8 (22%)	10 (27%)
Third	2 (5%)	7 (19%)	8 (22%)	5 (14%)
Fourth	0 (0%)	4 (11%)	10 (27%)	5 (14%)

Table 7.12
Relative importance of types of language skills

One noticeable difference from the Sydney survey was the importance placed in the Jakarta survey upon survival skills. Some 40% of the respondents in Jakarta ranked this as first in importance compared with only 15% in the Sydney survey. It seems that Australians living and working in Jakarta are much closer to the problems created by possessing an insufficient command of Indonesian. Simple tasks, such as calling a taxi, answering the telephone, going shopping and talking to servants are all immediate problems for new expatriates. There seems to be an inclination amongst Australian expatriates in Jakarta to learn 'survival Indonesian' and then to stop, because in all other areas of communication one can fall back on English. Language related to business skills was given the lowest priority. Opinion appeared to be that unless you had already attained a sufficiently high level of proficiency in formal Indonesian, it was a waste of time to learn formal Indonesian as your secretary could look after this area. Business people fluent in Indonesian would write their letters in simple Indonesian and let their secretaries put it into a correct formal style. It was also considered better to speak English to high government officials, rather than risk giving offence with bad formal Indonesian.

Only one respondent placed language related to business as his first priority and did so because he felt that while it was good to be able to communicate easily outside of formal business contexts, the most emphatic way of demonstrating a real commitment to business in Indonesia was to have a high level of proficiency in Indonesian. The Australian Cultural Counsellor stressed the importance of teaching newcomers about Indonesian business culture — the most important point being that business in Indonesia is personal, and that nothing will happen unless one makes the effort to go out and meet the right people on their own terms.

7.2.4.3 Communication breakdowns

Question 11. Has your company ever experienced a loss in business with Indonesia, or experienced strained relations because of language and cultural misunderstandings?

44/50 companies in Sydney and 31/37 companies in Jakarta answered.

Response	Sydney Survey	Jakarta Survey	Total Responses
Yes	13 (29%)	21 (68%)	34 (41%)
No	31 (71%)	10 (32%)	41 (59%)

Table 7.13
Loss of business through communication breakdowns

Those in the survey who said yes mentioned differences in attitude towards quality standards and the punctuality in receiving orders from Indonesia. One respondent talked about his difficulty with what he called the 'blank face phenomenon', which others referred to as the 'bamboo curtain'. When the Indonesian partners did not understand or were offended, they put on a blank face rather than saying anything further to clarify what they in fact thought. The respondent felt that this made communication as he knew it almost impossible. Others talked of strained political relationships between Australia and Indonesia affecting relations between themselves and their clients. Some mentioned the Jenkins article (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, April 1986) and the repercussions which it had for them as business people in Indonesia. A number of respondents seemed to be at a loss as to exactly what went wrong, although they seemed to believe that it was due to some form of cultural misunderstanding. Indonesians' desire to make a quick profit at the expense of long term gains and the need to establish the right connections were also cited as problems.

Those who answered no in the Sydney survey made the following comments. Many respondents had great difficulty in recognising when Indonesian business partners were saying no to a proposal. Most of the companies said that they had trouble gauging if Indonesian partners understood a proposal, because they would always answer yes when questioned. One way of dealing with this, favoured by many respondents, was to speak slowly and ask questions several times in different ways. Two business consultants pointed out that a lot of the problems stem from Australians' desire to get straight down to business and that this conflicted with the Indonesian desire to make a social evaluation of the people with whom they will have dealings. In Indonesia, business follows from social contact, rather than the other way around.

Many of those who answered no to this question and all who did not answer, in both the Sydney and Jakarta surveys, said that it was quite possible that they had offended the Indonesians, but had no way of knowing whether this was the case because they had never had any feedback. Often they were not sure if deals had simply fallen through because they had in some way offended the Indonesians or simply because their proposals were not suitable. Both surveys made the point that Indonesians do not like to be the bearers of bad tidings, and thus often answered affirmatively when they did not mean it. Many saw the Indonesian cultural 'thoughtworld' as a mystery and wanted to learn more about it in order to become more effective in business.

The survey in Jakarta almost exactly contradicted this in Sydney at this point. Some 68% of respondents in Jakarta were conscious of loss of business and strained relationships because of language and cultural misunderstandings compared with only 29% in Sydney. This indicated that those business people living and working in Jakarta have many more opportunities to experience a breakdown in communication. Of those who answered yes some had actually lost contracts; however most told of strained relations and lost opportunities. Again, the

greatest area of confusion was due to a lack of awareness amongst many Australian business people that business in Indonesia operates on a personal level. There is no such concept as doing business with a total stranger and the relationship will prosper only when a mutual sense of trust has been established. An engineer told of a million dollar project which had failed because the Australians involved had failed to introduce themselves properly to one of the senior Indonesian officials involved in the project. They were denied the contract, and when they took the matter to court, they found, after spending much money on litigation, that the Indonesian official's powerful connections made it impossible for them to win the case.

This example also serves to illuminate another aspect of Indonesian business culture, namely the importance of hierarchy in Indonesian society. In business, everybody knows their place. The senior person is always right and his instructions must be carried out exactly. Hence, as mentioned earlier, employees tried not to take any initiative or responsibility for decisions — doing their jobs precisely according to instructions or not at all. Senior Australian executives had a great deal of difficulty with this. Often this situation would lead to the most common mistake that new expatriates make, namely criticising employees in public, or even worse, losing their temper. It is the role of the senior person to criticise an employee privately and quietly, so that neither party loses face. Faced with an expatriate boss who does not know about these cultural conventions, many Indonesian employees become embarrassed by their boss's 'childish' behaviour and can do little to alleviate the situation other than to laugh it off. Another frequent type of strained relationship occurs when Australians try the hard sell approach. Indonesian abhorrence of this method of doing business has seen many deals lost to those who had a greater degree of cultural sensitivity.

Overall it was agreed that without previous education, it takes at least two years of experience to understand Indonesian business culture. This time is also necessary to build up a good network of business connections. Accordingly, given that the standard expatriate work contract is three years, Australians without prior preparation can only be truly effective in business during the last year of their contract.

Question 12. In what areas, if at all, do most communication breakdowns occur?

All 87 companies answered.

Area	Sydney Survey	Jakarta Survey	Total Responses
Social pleasantries	7	7	14 (16%)
Selling/negotiating	23	13	36 (41%)
Telephone calls	26	26	52 (60%)
Correspondence	8	7	15 (17%)

Table 7.14
Communication breakdowns

We have seen that respondents both in Sydney and Jakarta were heavily reliant on the use of the telephone (question 9a above). It is not surprising then that the most common area of communication breakdown in both surveys involved the use of telephones. The main reason given for this was the inability to rely upon body language to determine if what had been said had been comprehended. The lack

of visual cues was the reason that most felt uncomfortable about speaking on the telephone, and most Australians only used this medium to arrange business meetings, not to discuss business.

Although in both surveys selling/negotiating was the second most common area where misunderstanding occurred, the importance attributed to this area by those in Jakarta is considerably less than in Sydney. It was vital to avoid breakdowns in this area and the main way of avoiding the dangers was to speak English clearly or to have an Indonesian colleague do the negotiating. Not surprisingly, the lower levels of Indonesian usage, and lack of access to fluent Indonesian speakers in firms in Australia, means that there is a much greater risk of communication breakdowns in this area in Australia.

There is also more emphasis placed upon the importance of social pleasantries, when doing business with Indonesians, in the Jakarta survey (19% compared with 14%). Good communication in this area was stressed because of the importance of building business relationships, and a mastery of polite Indonesian etiquette was seen as vital.

Both survey groups felt that correspondence was in most cases not a problem since, being in written form, it could be double checked for its meaning. Australian business people were aware of the different style of Indonesian business letters, but generally refused to write in that style themselves. Secretaries were, however, sometimes given the job of translating their employers' letters and putting them into the formal Indonesian business style.

7.2.4.4 Staff skills

Question 13. Does your company place Indonesian language skills as a priority when employing Australians?

All 50 companies in Sydney and 36/37 companies in Jakarta answered.

Response	Sydney Survey	Jakarta Survey	Total Responses
Yes	7	9	16 (19%)
No	43	27	70 (81%)

Table 7.15
Use of Indonesian language skills

Of those who answered yes, 0/16 wanted an ability to meet routine social needs, 3/16 wanted an ability to meet routine social needs and basic work needs, and 13/16 an ability to use the language fluently and accurately for all purposes. Those who said no said it was desirable but not a priority, and those who did make Indonesian a priority clearly wanted a fluency commensurate with their ability in English.

Question 14. When you were hiring somebody with Indonesian language skills, what would you like them to be able to do?

46/50 companies in Sydney and 36/37 companies in Jakarta answered.

In both surveys professional qualifications and work experience were deemed to be more important than Indonesian language skills. Below are the broad categories summarised from both the Sydney and Jakarta responses:

	Sydney	Jakarta	Total
1. Fluency on all levels, including formal Indonesian	17/46 (37%)	12/36 (33%)	29/82 (85.4%)
2. Fluency in specialised technical Indonesian, specific to job	12/46 (26%)	0/36 (0%)	12/82 (14.6%)
3. Fluency at a social and practical business level	9/46 (20%)	23/36 (64%)	32/82 (39%)
4. Fluency for social and survival needs only	8/46 (17%)	1/36 (3%)	9/82 (11%)
Total	46/46 (100%)	36/36 (100%)	82/82 (100%)

Table 7.16
Required Indonesian fluency skills

The overwhelming response in Jakarta was the desire for fluency on a social and practical business level, compared with the Sydney respondents who ranked fluency at all levels of Indonesian as more important. It would seem that the reality of living and working in Indonesia has made Australian business people there aware of the difficulty and time involved in achieving fluency at all levels, and consequently they do not rank it highly. Speaking Indonesian on a social and practical business level seems to be enough to serve their purposes. Surprising is the low ranking of fluency for social and survival needs amongst the respondents in Jakarta. Respondents to question 10, which asked what kind of Indonesian should be taught in Indonesian courses for business purposes, indicated that 40% of these same respondents rated this kind of command of the language as 'most important'. Presumably respondents to question 14 in Jakarta believed that proficiency in Indonesian which would allow them to communicate effectively for practical social and business purposes would incorporate survival Indonesian.

Question 15. How do you see Australia's future trade relations with Indonesia? Do you consider it worthwhile for Australian businesses who are trading with Indonesia to invest in language training?

Australia's future trading relationship was described in very positive terms, such as 'huge market', 'growing', 'tremendous potential', 'booming', 'enormous untapped market'. The main reason given for this optimistic outlook was the continuing growth of the Indonesian middle class, who have a continuing need for Australian goods such as food products and luxury items, and the Indonesian need for Australian skills and technology to help with their economic development.

There was a general concern that Australia had ignored Asia for too long and that it was necessary for Australia to overcome its apathy in order to become more involved in Asia. All interviewees were more than aware that Australia's future economic survival depended on getting involved in the Asian market and that in order to gain a stable position there, Australians must actively seek ways of establishing themselves.

Given the attitude of the companies interviewed it was not surprising to find that all 87 respondents agreed that it would be a good idea to invest in

Indonesian language training. It was seen as essential to start to understand more about Indonesia, its people, language, culture and history, thereby increasing the possibility of a better business relationship in the future. Indonesian language and cultural training were seen as the way to achieve this, and the inclusion of such courses in both the secondary and tertiary education systems was frequently suggested. Some suggested that the teaching of European languages in schools should be replaced with Indonesian language education, although many expressed doubt as to whether Australians could ever reach a high enough level of proficiency to warrant a change from English to Indonesian in business.

Considering that all agreed that it was worthwhile for Australia to invest in language training, it seems quite contradictory to discover that only a small percentage of those interviewed had invested in language training themselves. It seemed generally agreed that it was not worthwhile for private firms to invest in language training if one was only going to spend a maximum of three years in the country.

The following questions were included only in the Jakarta survey.

Question 17a. Is it true that we can make do with interpreters?

29/37 companies in Jakarta answered.

Yes	10/29 (34%)
No	14/29 (48%)
Neither	5/29 (17%)

There were several reasons for opposing the use of interpreters when doing business in Indonesia. Firstly, the presence of an interpreter was considered to strain the relations between business partners and inhibit natural rapport. This was regarded as a serious drawback considering the importance placed upon establishing good business relations in Indonesia. The Indonesian business environment is considered to be very sensitive. Interpreters do not fully understand the strategies of Australian companies and so subtleties of negotiating and selling are easily lost. Furthermore, having an outside interpreter present is counter-productive because they may be witness to any informal 'under the table' dealings.

The second reason was that outside interpreters are not committed to one's business success. This is a major reason why Australian business people prefer to use their agents or colleagues as interpreters when necessary. Even if they are unable to translate exactly, they at least share the same desire for gain. It was generally felt that it was preferable to be able to speak Indonesian, as this allowed one maximum control. It was even considered more beneficial to be able to speak mediocre Indonesian and thus be able to monitor what agents and colleagues were saying rather than to rely on an interpreter. Thirdly, interpreters often did not understand technical terminology and concepts, not having formal qualifications in those areas themselves. Finally, it was said that if people were serious about doing business in Indonesia, they must have control of the language, rather than leaving this skill to others. Furthermore, learning Indonesian was the most effective way of learning about Indonesian

culture and, consequently, would considerably increase a business person's chance of success in Indonesia.

For those who believed that one could make do in Indonesia with interpreters when doing business in Indonesia, responses were invariably followed by a 'but...'. The words 'make do' of the question were emphasised, because the use of interpreters was regarded as a necessity rather than an ideal. Some believed that unless a person could speak Indonesian well, it was preferable to use an interpreter, and that a cultural understanding of Indonesia was more important than a command of the language. There was a strong preference for using fellow workers as interpreters, rather than having to call in outside interpreters, for the same reasons as those already given above.

Question 17b. Is it true that we do not need to train Australians because we can employ Indonesians to do the job?

29/37 companies in Jakarta answered.

Yes	8/29 (28%)
No	16/29 (55%)
Neither	5/29 (17%)

Those who answered yes agreed that it was better to employ Indonesians because they speak Indonesian fluently, know the business culture and understand the business market. The fact that so few Indonesians were given jobs ahead of expatriates was due to the lack of qualified Indonesians, especially in middle and upper levels of management. These respondents considered that spending money on training Indonesians in management skills made better business sense than training Australians in language skills. Furthermore, expatriate wages are considerably higher than local wages.

Those who answered no mentioned as the major reason for a continuing need to train Australians that there were not enough qualified Indonesians to meet levels of demands. The Indonesian economy was growing so rapidly that no matter how fast Indonesians were trained, demand would continue to outstrip the supply for at least another decade. Some expressed the hope that there would always be some kind of expatriate presence, even if at a much reduced level, because many Australian business people wanted to have at least one fellow Australian in Indonesia, rather than having to rely completely on Indonesian representation.

One respondent felt that in the current economic situation there was a need to train Australians to function efficiently in Indonesia, but qualified Indonesians should also be employed to the maximum extent possible in order to establish an effective company. In other words, it was not a question of either/or, but a need to train Australians as well as to train and employ Indonesians.

Question 17c. Is it true that English is the language of business in Asia?

29/37 companies in Jakarta answered.

Yes	29/29 (100%)
No	0/29 (0%)

English is, without doubt, considered to be the language of business in Asia. However, many mentioned that it was not enough to rely on English. It was vital to have a knowledge of the language and customs of the country with which you are dealing. The point was emphasised that business in Indonesia was predominantly conducted in Indonesian and that only when international connections were made did English become the language of trade. Chinese was considered the second most widely spoken language in Asia after English.

Question 17d. Is it true that Australian business staff have to have language and country skills for Indonesia?

29/37 companies in Jakarta answered.

Yes	22/29 (76%)
No	7/29 (24%)

Of those who answered yes, it was commonly held that having language and, more importantly, country skills prior to commencing work in Indonesia would considerably facilitate the adjustment period, thereby making Australians with such skills effective much sooner than those without preparation. It was estimated that one could lose at least six months of usefulness by not being adequately trained before coming to Indonesia.

Unless one had at least some language and country skills, working in Indonesia would be a struggle. Generally, language difficulties could be handled by an interpreter. However, this was not considered to be the most effective form of communication and did not teach the expatriate about Indonesian customs, and expatriates would be left to learn by trial and error and to discover things the hard way. One Indonesian consultant said that he would not waste his time employing anybody without language and country skills.

Those who indicated that it was possible to survive without language and country skills all commented that it was much preferable to have them. The need for these skills was said to depend on the type of business in which one was involved. For instance, engineers working on site are severely handicapped if they cannot communicate to those people around them, most of whom would not speak English. Conversely, in an international office in Jakarta, people could survive without Indonesian, provided that they had a good support base of English-speaking Indonesian staff.

Question 18. Do you have any other comments or information?

37/50 companies in Sydney and 29/37 companies in Jakarta answered.

Once again the problem of time and money required to prepare expatriate staff to work in Indonesia was raised. Often expatriates are not told far enough in advance in order to prepare themselves properly. Even those courses favoured by the Sydney survey group (six weeks full time or three months part time) would impinge upon the immediate concerns of finishing off work commitments and packing up houses in Australia to move to Indonesia. Once there, expatriates are usually too busy settling into a completely different work environment to take part in organised courses and, once they find that the majority of their staff can speak English reasonably well, the incentive to learn Indonesian fades.

Given the restrictions of time, training courses would probably be open only to business people continuing to work in Australia and even then the content would have to be reduced to those aspects which would be of maximum benefit to business needs. The respondents were on the whole more interested in learning about the culture, people, history and politics of Indonesia — in other words, what makes them tick. It is not surprising to find that the business people were most interested in learning about the Indonesian business culture. Of particular interest was understanding the 'system of reciprocity', ie, bribery, and they wanted to know when to recognise when an offer is being made, how to accept, how to refuse, how much an appropriate amount is, when it is seemly to make an offer, and so on. Another area people wanted to learn about was the system of patron/client relationships, as well as using the proper honorific pronouns when addressing Indonesians.

One government consultant warned of the importance for business people of being aware of their level of proficiency in the language and to understand when to use it among different groups of Indonesians, in order not to give offence. He also warned that teachers of Indonesian need to be careful not to teach abstract, anthropological material, but rather concentrate on imparting a knowledge of contemporary social life, current history and traditions that relate to current behaviour.

The idea of offering a three year language course at university level for those wanting to work in Indonesia in the future was generally greeted warmly. Some expressed reservations that a degree is not the same as work experience, and that they would still prefer to employ people more experienced than recent graduates for their operations in Indonesia.

The point was made yet again that young Australians should be taught Asian languages and customs which would build a basis for Australia's future dealings with Asia. If students left school with an awareness and tolerance for Australia's neighbours, much would be done to improve the social and business relationship between Australia and Indonesia.

7.3 Conclusions

The case has been made for Australia's need to become 'Asia literate', and several reports have convincingly argued the relevance of linguistic proficiency in languages other than English and associated cultural understanding for

Australian companies seeking to expand their activities abroad. While the success of a small number of companies has been associated with the employment of personnel with such skills, very many companies, still in fact the majority, persist in the belief that English will do, or, at the very best, rate the value of linguistic and associated cultural skills lower than they do other qualifications when appointing staff to work overseas. The absence of any mention at all of linguistic and cultural skills in William's report to the Australia-Indonesia Institute at least suggests that he did not consider them to be of immediate relevance in the case of Indonesia. Church, however, did detail what he considered to be employable skills in an order of priority. First was required a 'hard discipline', then cultural and historical knowledge, and only then a working command of Indonesian, not total fluency. It is clear from a number of surveys, however, that many companies continue to experience difficulties in gathering market intelligence and promoting their products abroad. Stanley *et al.* were of the view that no amount of rational argument was likely to convince business people of the advantages of a proficiency in languages. In the end, only experience of the advantages would change their attitudes.

It is important to keep in mind that however reluctant business people are to concede the importance of linguistic and cultural skills, the harsh economic experience of recent times has made Australian businesses wary of investing the limited resources they have in long term projects in markets in which they have little experience. There is also a need to recognise as Ingram, Marriott and Neustupny have done that the case for the relevance of these skills has been made at too generalised a level. The findings of the present surveys provided evidence of this. On the one hand, we have heard stories of success, satisfaction with the present practices of Australian firms doing business with Indonesia, and a considerable optimism about the future of Australian-Indonesian business relationships — a vision supported by optimistic predictions that trade between the two countries is set to treble to AUD\$7 billion by the year 2000 (*The Australian Financial Review*, 27 October 1992:2). On the other hand, there are stories of strained relationships and lost opportunities which appear to have occurred because of misunderstandings and breakdowns in communication. The contradiction between these two kinds of experiences is in all probability more apparent than real, because it reflects the different experiences of different companies and individuals. A more precise understanding of the factors affecting the performances of particular companies is required if we are to understand their needs. In this connection, generalised statements of the relevance of language and cultural training to Australian business enterprise must give way to recognition of the differentiated levels of need which particular individuals, companies and sectors of companies each have for linguistic proficiency and cultural knowledge, and that there is a variety of ways in which uses and skills might be provided.

The respondents to the present surveys were generally agreed that Australia's economic development depended upon success in establishing Australian business in Asian countries and that Indonesia provided more than ample opportunities for Australian companies to take advantage of. They were agreed, therefore, that it was essential for the Australian community to understand more about Indonesia, its people, language, culture and history. The study of Indonesian language and culture in secondary and tertiary education systems was frequently proposed as the way to achieve this goal, and there was support for the training

in universities of students who wanted business careers in Indonesia. However, as Church and the Centre for Export Marketing at the University of New South Wales have pointed out in their separate essays, what must be provided in the long term is not simply the training for higher linguistic proficiency in Indonesian and knowledge about Indonesia, but experienced business managers who combine professional training with such skills and knowledge. The initiatives of tertiary institutions to provide such training and time to train students will alone provide the results envisaged.

However, there was some scepticism about the likely outcome of such programs. Some respondents doubted whether it was at all possible to train Australians to sufficiently high levels of proficiency in Indonesian to be able to operate effectively in business. Others had reservations because in their view an academic training was no alternative to actual work experience. There was amongst the latter respondents a stated preference for hiring those who had had such experience rather than recent graduates who had not, no matter how proficient they were in Indonesian and how knowledgeable they might be about Indonesia. Other respondents thought it more sensible to hire Indonesians who were already fluent in Indonesian, knew Indonesian business culture and understood the Indonesian market, and to train them in managerial skills rather than to train Australian professionals to have the language and cultural skills which they required to work in Indonesia. These respondents believed that it would be cheaper to pay Indonesians than expatriates to do the same work. Australian business people are sustained in these attitudes by the view that English is without any doubt the language of business in Asia. They perceived Chinese to be the only other language widely used in business in Indonesia. The average Australian business person is keen to see English as the international language of trade, believing that it conferred advantages upon them in negotiations as native speakers of the language. No doubt such scepticism about the long term benefits of training business personnel linguistically and culturally derive at least in part from current experience.

While proposals to teach Indonesian language and culture in secondary schools and in universities in combination with professional courses will provide for the long term needs of Australian companies, in the short term these companies are left to deal with a situation in which some succeed and others do not. Clearly at some point in their dealings with Indonesia, all Australian companies must have access to people who have a high level of proficiency in Indonesian and a knowledge of Indonesian (business) culture. There are several ways in which they might do so. As some have suggested, they might hire Indonesians to carry out duties which require these skills, or they might hire Australians with these skills, or they might use some combination of both these strategies.

The surveys in Sydney and Jakarta indicate that Australian companies place a higher priority on professional qualifications and work experience than they do on a linguistic proficiency in Indonesian. It comes as no surprise therefore to discover that few of the respondents were fluent in Indonesian and that almost 80% of their transactions with their Indonesian counterparts were conducted in English. However respondents, particularly in Jakarta, recognised that English was not sufficient and that a command of Indonesian was advantageous not just for survival but also for practical business and social purposes as well. Nevertheless there was a tendency amongst expatriates in Jakarta to learn

survival Indonesian and then to stop and rely on English. In this situation Australian companies in Jakarta hired local Indonesian agents, staff and Indonesian interpreters and translators to perform duties which required high levels of proficiency in Indonesian, while those in Sydney mostly dealt with their need for interpreting and translating services through their Indonesian agents.

The respondents appeared generally satisfied with these practices. However, they did recognise some shortcomings. Good agents, translators and interpreters were not always easy to find and there were also complaints of meanings lost in translation, translations being too literal, and technical terminology not known. Others mentioned misunderstandings in negotiations and the need to clarify intentions which were obfuscated by poor English or a cultural reluctance to say no clearly enough for Australians to recognise what was meant. These situations were easily resolved by the careful editing of translations and the somewhat cumbersome process of reformulating questions and comments in several different ways in English.

Respondents, however, also indicated a more serious level of concern at a situation in which they themselves had only a command of English at their disposal. They said that it was very possible that they had offended Indonesians and that deals had fallen through either for this reason or because their proposals were simply not acceptable, the important point being that they had no way of determining what the real reasons were. Concerns of a more serious nature were also voiced in discussion of the use of interpreters. Respondents expressed their frustration and concern about their lack of control in negotiations when they were not able to eavesdrop on conversations which took place in Indonesian, or understand what was being said between the parts of negotiations which were officially translated for them. They also complained that interpreters who were brought in from outside did not always understand many of the subtleties of business negotiations and did not share their employer's interests in the outcome of negotiations. For these reasons some respondents often chose to use Indonesian colleagues and agents even if their command of English was not always entirely adequate. More importantly some respondents recognised that the use of an interpreter also inhibited the development of the rapport and trust which was important in forming lasting business relationships in Indonesia. A few also thought that a good command of Indonesian was the most effective way to demonstrate a serious commitment to doing business in Indonesia. Even those respondents who appeared quite happy with the use of interpreters frequently hedged their affirmative statements with a 'but ...' or said that they had no choice but to make do with the use of interpreters because their use was a necessity rather than ideal.

It would seem then that there are good reasons why at least some respondents to the surveys in Sydney and Jakarta believed that a command of Indonesian and associated cultural knowledge were a definite advantage to an expatriate business person. Ingleby has made much of the need of Australian companies to prepare themselves before attempting to do business in Indonesia and to train their staff properly to work there. He has pointed out that it is not until the eighth or ninth month of their first year that expatriate staff work to 25% of their normal capacity and not until the second year that they work to 85% of their normal capacity. He warns of the very substantial financial risks which

are possible under such conditions (Ingleby 1991:8). Respondents to the two surveys recognised that proficiency in Indonesian and a knowledge of Indonesian culture would greatly facilitate the expatriate Australian's adjustment to working in Indonesia. However, it seems that there are a number of important obstacles which stand in the way of their proper preparation. There is a lack of time and money available for this purpose. Respondents indicated that expatriates are not informed far enough in advance to prepare themselves, and the demands of finishing off work assignments and packing up households before departure do not leave even sufficient time for a six-week full-time course. Once they have arrived in Indonesia, they were too busy settling in and adjusting to the new work environment to find the time to attend courses. They then discovered that they could get by with English and the incentive to learn quickly faded. But at what cost?

Stanley *et al.* noted in their report that Australian business people believed that knowledge of a language and knowledge of a culture could be separated. The respondents to the two surveys, when asked to comment on the skills they thought desirable for an Australian expatriate to have to work in Indonesia, also separated knowledge of Indonesian from knowledge of Indonesian culture, holding that the latter was more important. When commenting on the reasons for breakdowns in communication which had lost them business, they also identified a number of Indonesian cultural attitudes which had given them cause for concern separately from issues of language. Whatever Australian business people are able to learn in general about Indonesian (business) attitudes and practices through the medium of English, without access to local newspapers and magazines, radio and television, and without the ability to converse freely and widely with Indonesians — all of which is dependent upon a proficiency in Indonesian — they are left to determine what is actually happening on the ground in their own particular circumstances from the isolation which they have created for themselves by their failure to learn Indonesian. It seems strange that while these business people calculate their costs of production with considerable rigour, they do not appear to build into their cost structures adequate training for personnel on whom success in marketing their products in Indonesia are dependent.

A closer examination of the kind of situation in which communication breakdowns have occurred is instructive. It was one in which the expatriate had little or no command of Indonesian and the Indonesian parties to negotiations had less than an adequate command of English. It was in this situation that our respondents were unable to identify clearly the factors which had contributed to their success or failure and how the cultural attitudes of both parties had contributed to the results of their negotiations. Australian business people, uncomfortable with a command of Indonesian which was less than their command of English, insist on the use of English, while Indonesians are prepared to operate with something less than a level of total fluency in English. Baldly put, there are two solutions to the problem. Either Indonesians have to improve their command of English or Australian companies have to ensure that their personnel are better equipped to represent their interests in Indonesia. As was indicated above, this should not be taken to mean that all expatriate staff should be fluent in Indonesian. It does, however, suggest that Australian companies ought to have a more detailed awareness of their need of staff

proficient in Indonesian and knowledgeable about Indonesian culture, and have a precise idea of how this can best be achieved.

Perhaps the most powerful argument brought by respondents to the two surveys in support of not providing Indonesian language and cultural training for Australian personnel is the argument that it makes better business sense and is cheaper to hire Indonesians, fluent in Indonesian and with a knowledge of Indonesian (business) culture and the Indonesian market and to provide them with the business skills that they lack. Mr Joe Callus, Managing Director of Bailey Controls Australia, at a seminar on doing business in Indonesia, made the point clearly enough:

Recognising that doing business in Indonesia is a totally different experience, we studied carefully the business culture and soon discovered that to be successful you must use Indonesians to sell to Indonesians (CommUNIQUE Macarthur 5 1992:4).

Drummond, writing in *The Australian Financial Review*, has drawn attention to the consequences of this practice at least in the case of Japanese. After pointing out that students are beginning to graduate from universities well equipped to take up positions in companies with business in Asia, he points out that these graduates find it difficult to find employment with Australian firms, but do so with companies from other parts of the world (Drummond 1992:32s; compare Marriott 1991:23).

Viviani has drawn attention to the increasing openness of nation states in the Asian region, including Australia, to the flow of goods, money and people and to the rapid internationalisation of production, commerce and finance. She has pointed out that the rise of new middle classes in the countries of this region has been a feature of the past two decades. These middle classes have been advantaged by these developments and possess the skills and capital to take advantage of them. The business people, lawyers, accountants, bureaucrats, the military and academics who form these middle classes, internationalist and regionalist in character, are on the move and are creating networks of relationships which traverse ASEAN, Asia more widely and which extend to Europe and the United States (Viviani 1990:103-5, 107, 110; 1991:256).

Australian companies establishing themselves in Indonesia participate in these international networks and are free to take advantage of the pool of skills which they are capable of providing. Increasingly then, Australians will have to compete in an international labour market. The skills and experience which they will require to do so and the wages they can earn will be determined in an international arena and not by a labour market contained within the Australian nation state.

For nigh on a decade now governments, schools and universities and business in Australia have been encouraging young Australians to acquire a proficiency in Asian languages and culture to fit them for employment in business, in the public service and in education as part of a strategy to improve Australia's economic performance. Indonesian/Malay has been one of the languages most promoted in this regard. Students are beginning to graduate from universities who are well equipped to take up positions in companies with business in Indonesia. One has to

ask why it is that Australian companies are so reluctant to employ these graduates when companies from other parts of the world find them employable (Marriott 1991 and Drummond 1992:32s).

8 **INDONESIAN/MALAY IN AUSTRALIA. A SURVEY OF YEAR 11 STUDENTS OF INDONESIAN/MALAY**

8.1 **Introduction**

This report has already referred to a number of attitudinal surveys of students of languages other than English at the secondary and tertiary levels of education. In discussing general community attitudes to the study of languages, attention has been drawn in particular to students' opinions concerning the vocational value of languages (Wykes and King 1968; Ingleson 1989; Leal *et al.* 1991 and Nicholas *et al.* 1993). Eltis and Cooney's report (1983) has been mentioned in relationship to the influence of background speakers of Indonesian/Malay on decisions of second language learners to continue or discontinue the study of the language.⁸⁰

8.1.1 **Studies before 1992**

More detailed attention will now be paid to Wykes and King's attitudinal survey of students in secondary schools in Victoria in the mid 1960s (1968) and to that of Eltis and Cooney of students in secondary schools in New South Wales in the early 1980s (1983). Both these surveys, like the one reported in this chapter, addressed the reasons why students entering the upper secondary school decide to continue or discontinue the study of languages other than English.

In the mid 1960s, Wykes and King surveyed students in Forms 1, 3 and 5 in Victorian secondary schools. Only the surveys of Forms 3 and 5 will concern us here. Form 3 was crucial in Victorian secondary schools at the time because it was at the beginning of the year, in which students entered Form 3, that they were able to select from different subjects and courses of study. At the end of Form 5, students sat for the Leaving Certificate before sitting for university matriculation examinations at the end of Year 6 (Wykes and King 1968:89-145).

Wykes and King's survey was designed 'to ascertain the pupils' preferences for school subjects and the reasons for their attitudes to French' (Wykes and King 1968:91). It was not expected that pupils of French would have the same attitudes as those students who were studying German or Latin, the other two major languages in the curriculum of Victorian secondary schools at the time, but it was felt that the conclusions reached would probably 'have implications for most Australian children studying French' (Wykes and King 1968:90).

The questionnaires presented students with a series of statements related to studying French. These were designed to elicit responses on the following issues: students' interest in the study of language, the sense of achievement they derived from that study, their evaluation of the utility of languages, their interest in the study of culture associated with language study, the influence of the home on

⁸⁰ At the time the present report went to press, Zammit's *The Challenge: Choosing to Study Language Through High School*, which discusses this issue, was nearing completion.

students' decisions to continue or discontinue the study of languages, whether students liked their teachers and appreciated their skills, and finally, their interest in teaching aids and special activities.

The questionnaires for the survey of Form 3 were administered to 1,200 students of both sexes in Government, Independent and Catholic schools. The responses revealed that a small majority of students found the study of French language interesting and about half considered that they were making satisfactory progress. A majority did not consider the study of the language was useful. It seemed that little attention was paid to French culture and there was little use made of teaching aids and special activities. The majority liked their teachers and considered them skilful at their job, although there was a sizeable minority which was critical of them. There was encouragement from the home for the study of French.

Wykes and King discerned differences between students in different schooling systems but drew particular attention to the fact that girls were more inclined to the study of French than were boys. Girls were more interested in language study, evaluated their achievement more highly, believed that French was more useful and found greater enjoyment in the use of teaching aids and activities than did boys in Form 3 (Wykes and King 1968:125).

Two surveys were administered to students in Form 5. In all, 600 students studying French in 26 schools, and 600 students who had discontinued the study of the subject in Form 5 in 25 schools, were given separate questionnaires. The students were asked to respond to statements which covered the same range of issues as were students in Form 3. As Wykes and King pointed out, the responses were likely in some way to have been affected by the place of languages in the matriculation requirements to enter Victorian universities at the time. These requirements demanded a humanities subject, which in most schools meant either a language or a social science subject such as history, and entrance to the Faculty of Arts at Melbourne University required a foreign language.

A majority of the students in Form 5 who were taking French had an interest in the study of the language and considered that they were making satisfactory progress. There was a substantial minority, however, who were experiencing difficulties. The group of continuers did not consider the study of French to be useful. A majority received active support from home to study the language and rated their teachers ability highly. About a quarter of them took the subject because it fitted in with the timetable and a third were studying the subject because of advice from their teachers (Wykes and King 1968:133-40).

Of the students who had discontinued the study of French in Form 5, the majority had no interest in the study of the language and did not do well at it. Only a quarter of these students considered the language useful. There was little active discouragement from home to continue the subject and a majority thought highly of their teachers. There were some students who would have continued the study of French but were prevented from doing so by timetabling difficulties. It was clear that teachers did deter a number of students from continuing their study of the subject but probably for good reason (Wykes and King 1968:140-5).

Neither the continuing nor the discontinuing students thought the study of French had much use. The greatest difference between the two groups was the level of interest each had in the study of the language. Those who continued studying French were far more motivated by an interest in the study of the language and had a greater sense of achievement than did those who discontinued the subject. While both groups thought well of the ability of their teachers, the continuers had a far more positive attitude towards them than did discontinuers (Wykes and King 1968:144-5).

Wykes and King again drew attention in the case of Form 5 students to differences between students in the different schooling systems and, in particular, to the importance of gender differences. Girls at this level were more encouraged at home to study French and ascribed to it greater utilitarian value than did boys. However the most important reason more girls studied French than boys was their greater interest in the study of the language:

Just noticeable in Form 1, increasingly so in Form 3, [girls'] interest is [in Form 5] well ahead of that of boys, and seems to be the chief reason why girls take languages more than boys do. Their concept of the greater utility probably stems from their interest — it is because of this that they wish to continue their studies at the university (Wykes and King 1968:138).

Even girls who had discontinued the study of French after Form 5 liked it more, had a greater sense of achievement in the subject and thought it more useful than did the boys who had discontinued at this level. Discontinuing girls were also more critical of their teachers than discontinuing boys were (Wykes and King 1968:144).

Eltis and Cooney in their 1983 study surveyed groups of students in New South Wales secondary schools to establish the reasons why they had continued or discontinued the study of languages other than English. In order to establish the reasons why students chose to study languages at school, they surveyed:

- students who presented a language for the Higher School Certificate examination in 1981, and
- students who had studied a language until the end of Year 10 in 1980 and then abandoned language study.

Responses totalled 2,508 from the first group and 364 from the second. Eltis and Cooney identified what they described as a striking similarity between the responses of the continuers and discontinuers. Both groups attached considerable importance to the use of the language, whether for travel overseas or for reading current material in the language. Success in learning the language combined with an interest in learning and speaking languages was also important, as was achieving an appreciation of one's own culture and that of others. The possibility that command of a language might assist students' prospect of employment was important for more than half of these students. The responses indicated that the influence of parents was not as important as success in learning and, by implication, the influence of teachers (Eltis and Cooney 1983:35-9).

Eltis and Cooney's survey of students who had discontinued the study of languages after Year 10 revealed that there were several reasons why these students had done so. The most important reasons were:

- concern that language study would not result in as many marks for their Higher School Certificate aggregate as other subjects,
- students' wish to give up the study of languages,
- inability to fit languages in, not because of timetabling difficulties, but because students had already chosen other subjects,
- the hard work required in language learning compared with other subjects; and for many, languages were too hard, and
- students' perception that languages were not helpful for future employment.

Eltis and Cooney commented further:

The blame for the decline in student numbers [in languages other than English] is often laid at the feet of teachers. These results suggest that there are factors beyond the control of the teacher; to blame teachers entirely for the situation is to be too critical and unfair (Eltis and Cooney 1983:60-2).

Both Wykes and King's and Eltis and Cooney's surveys highlight a number of reasons which influenced students' decisions to continue and discontinue the study of languages other than English. It is clear that students who continued did so because they had an interest in the study of languages and did well in them. However, while Wykes and King did not find much evidence of an explicit interest in the study of (French) culture — because it seemed not to be taught much in Victorian schools at the time — Eltis and Cooney's respondents clearly indicated that they valued the study of languages for the insight which it gave them into their own culture and that of others.

It is clear from Wykes and King's survey that students of French in the mid 1960s saw little utilitarian value in the study of languages. Eltis and Cooney, however, found clear indication in the early 1980s in New South Wales that students had an interest in the use of languages for reasons of travel, access to current material in the language and because they believed it would enhance their prospects of employment.

Both surveys indicated that, while influence from the home was on the whole positive in support of language study, it was not as important as success in learning and the influence of teachers. Students who continued the study of languages thought highly of their teachers and both continuers and discontinuers were influenced by them when deciding to continue or discontinue their study of languages. According to Wykes and King even those students who discontinued the study of French in Form 5 thought highly of their teachers although discontinuing girls were more critical of them than were discontinuing boys.

According to Wykes and King, the crucial differences between those who continued the study of languages and those who did not lie in their respective levels of interest in the study of languages and their sense of achievement. The discontinuers in Wykes and King's survey were less motivated by interest in the

study of languages and did less well at it than did the continuers. Discontinuers also had little interest in the study of languages, considering that they were harder and required more work than other subjects. It is not surprising then that the latter considered that continued study of languages would jeopardise their chances of high aggregate marks in their final Year 12 examinations. The discontinuers also thought that languages had little utilitarian value and would not enhance their prospects of obtaining jobs. These findings accord well with the reasons given in a survey of 527 students in Years 9 and 11 in both Government and non-Government schools in Victoria in 1987. Here too lack of interest, the difficulty of learning languages, the lack of utility of languages, dislike of the teacher and preferences for other subjects all figured amongst the reasons why students discontinued the study of languages.

Eltis and Cooney did not attend much to gender differences when considering student attitudes towards the study of languages, but Wykes and King paid particular attention to this issue. The clear difference which they discovered between males and females in their samples lay in the level of interest which girls had in the study of language and they were inclined to ascribe girls' greater acceptance of the utility of languages to this factor. As we have seen already, a number of surveys, both national and in Victoria, indicate that significantly more girls were still studying languages other than English in the upper secondary schools in the late 1980s and early 1990s (see Chapter 2).

Students' interest in languages and cultures, their sense of achievement in language study compared with other subjects, their evaluation of the utility of languages and their vocational relevance, their like and dislike of teachers and evaluation of their skills, and finally gender differences are all issues which these two surveys suggest have an important bearing on student motivation towards the study of languages in the upper secondary schools.

8.2 A national survey of Year 11 students in 1992

8.2.1 Aim

An attitudinal survey of Year 11 students in Australian schools was carried out by NLLIA for the nine Key Languages. The aim of the survey was to discover the factors which influence students at Year 11 level to continue and discontinue their language studies after completing Year 10.

8.2.2 Methodology

The survey was designed and carried out in three stages:

- Stage 1: Design of the questionnaire
- Stage 2: Sampling procedure
- Stage 3: Administration of the questionnaire

Stage 1: The design of the questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed by a sub-committee of NLLIA (Dr Boshra El Guindy, Dr Tony Liddicoat, Professor Jiri Neustupny, Dr Ng Bee Chin, Dr Anne Pauwels and Mr Steven Petrou).

The questionnaire included questions relevant to all languages as well as issues specifically relevant to the nine Key Languages. To ensure that the responses were in a manageable form, the questions were designed to elicit close-ended answers as much as possible. However, wherever possible and necessary, open-ended responses were encouraged. Briefly there were four main sections to the questionnaire.

Section 1: Background information

This section of the questionnaire was intended to examine the profile of students who undertake language courses. The questions relate to gender, other subjects studied, socio-economic status and general career/educational aspirations (Q1, Q2, Q3, Q6, Q7, Q12 and Q16).

Section 2: Language background

The questions in this section were designed to find out what language backgrounds the students came from. A self-evaluation of their skills in languages other than English was included (Q4, Q5, Q13 and Q17).

Section 3: Reasons for Discontinuing

Questions 10 and 14, which were directed at students who had studied a language in Year 10 but who had discontinued the language in Year 11, were designed to establish the reasons why this group of students gave up the study of the languages. The students were given a range of possible responses which included language internal factors, such as 'the language is difficult' or 'I do not like languages', and language external factors, such as 'I did not like the teacher', 'my friends did not take this language' or 'timetable clashes'.

Section 4: Reasons for Continuing

Questions 11 and 15 were intended to establish the reasons why students continued the study of languages to Year 11. Students had to choose from a list of 15 responses. In these two questions the respondents had to evaluate each of the 15 statements on a Likert scale between 1 and 5. Based on other studies on language attitudes and language learning, the statements provided comprised both instrumental and integrative reasons. Instrumental reasons for language study include those which motivate a learner of a language for utilitarian purposes, such as furthering a career, improving social status or meeting an educational requirement. Integrative reasons are those motives which derive from a desire for affiliation with a foreign culture. They include the desire to learn a particular language or a general interest in second languages. In the case of the questionnaire, responses 4, 5, 9, and 10 in questions 11 and 15 are examples

of instrumental reasons for learning a language and responses 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 and 11 are integrative reasons. Miscellaneous responses which refer to external factors such as peer group and parental pressure and the role of the teacher were also included.

Stage 2: Sampling Procedure

The population targeted by the survey were students in Year 11 who had studied a language in Year 10. Ideally, random sampling of all Year 11 students in schools which taught languages other than English would have been the best option. However, limited time and budgetary constraints have precluded this as a possible option.

Instead, it was decided that the research group for each of the nine Key Languages would provide a list of schools offering their language. The list of schools was not intended to be comprehensive but, as far as possible, efforts were made to ensure that the list would contain a balance of Government, Independent and Catholic schools from each State. After the list had been compiled a letter seeking permission to conduct the survey was sent to each school on the list. The questionnaires were then sent to schools which agreed to be surveyed. The fact that only those schools which had responded positively were surveyed meant that our sample is biased in some way. For example, we ended up with a total sample for the nine Key Languages which was skewed towards Independent schools not because we particularly wanted to focus on these schools, but because more Independent than Government schools agreed to participate in the study.

In the case of Indonesian/Malay, it was decided to focus the survey on schools in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland and Western Australia. We found it difficult to identify Catholic schools anywhere in Australia teaching the language. As it turned out, in addition to the Catholic schools which were identified in the above States, responses were also received from one Catholic school in South Australia teaching Indonesian/Malay.

Stage 3: Administration of the questionnaire

The questionnaires were administered in the selected schools by research assistants from each of the nine Key Language Project Groups. In the case of Indonesian/Malay some questionnaires were administered by the teacher of the language in the schools. The questionnaires were then collected and those questionnaires which were not in the target group were removed. The remaining ones were processed by the Research Area of Social Sciences, La Trobe University. The statistical analysis was done by Dr Robert Powell and Michael Day. Coded questionnaires were entered into FoxPro database by professional data entry staff and analysed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) on a Vax 880 research computer. Analysis was explored with the use of frequency tables, cross tabulations and multiple responses.

In the case of Indonesian/Malay, all questionnaires which were completed by students who were not studying this language were ignored. The analysis below, therefore, refers only to the sample of students studying Indonesian/Malay in 27 schools.

Table 8.1 summarises the 25 schools which responded by State and type of school:

State	Government	Independent	Catholic	Total
New South Wales	6	2	1	9
Victoria	2	4	1	7
West Australia	2	4	-	6
South Australia	-	-	1	1
Queensland	3	1	-	4
Total	13	11	3	27

Table 8.1
Responding Schools by State and Type of School

8.3 Results and discussion

The results have been cross-tabulated against four main variables. These are: five States — New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia; three types of school — Catholic, Government and Independent; gender; and language background — background speakers and non-background speakers of Indonesian/Malay. As not all aspects of these cross-tabulations were of significance, only those which have been reported and commented upon below.

This part of the report is divided into four sections:

- The Sample of Students of Indonesian/Malay
- Profile of Respondents.
- Reasons for Discontinuing.
- Reasons for Continuing.

8.3.1 The sample of students of Indonesian/Malay

A total of 158 students studying Indonesian/Malay completed the questionnaire, although not all students answered all questions. For this reason some responses are shown for fewer than 158 students.

Table 8.2 tabulates this sample by State:

State	Number of Students
New South Wales	80 (50.6%)
Western Australia	43 (27.2%)
Victoria	18 (11.4%)
Queensland	15 (9.5%)
South Australia	2 (1.3%)
Total	158 (100%)

Table 8.2
Number of Students in the sample by State

Table 8.3 indicates that the students in the sample were overwhelmingly from Government (56.3%) and Independent schools (41.1%). The small proportion in

Catholic schools (2.5%) is to be explained by the fact that few Catholic schools have traditionally offered Indonesian/Malay as a subject (see Chapter 2).

Type of School	Number of Students
Government	89 (56.3%)
Independent	65 (41.1%)
Catholic	4 (2.5%)
Total	158 (100%)

Table 8.3
Number of Students by Type of School

Of the 158 students who were studying Indonesian/Malay, 140 (88.6%) were learning the language as their first language other than English (henceforth referred to as L1 students) and 18 (11.4%) were doing it as their second language other than English (henceforth referred to as L2 students).

Status	L1	L2	Total
Discontinued	40 (25.3%)	5 (3.2%)	45 (28.5%)
Continued	100 (63.3%)	13 (8.2%)	113 (71.5%)*
TOTAL	140 (88.6%)	18 (11.4%)	158 (100%)

Table 8.4
Status of the Students in the Sample.

* Between two and five of L1 continuers did not respond to all sections of question 11, and either five or six L2 continuers did not respond to all sections of question 15. The numbers of continuers and discontinuers, therefore, has been based on the respondents to questions 10 and 14.

Out of the sample, a total of 45 (28.5%) discontinued the study of Indonesian/Malay after Year 10. Of the discontinuers 40 (25.3%) were L1 students and five (3.2%) were L2 students. A total of 113 (71.5%) students continued the study of the language to Year 11. Of this group 100 (63.3%) were L1 students and 13 (8.2%) were L2 students.

8.3.2 Profile of respondents

8.3.2.1 Gender distribution

Ninety (57.7%) students in the sample were male and 66 (42.3%) female. The predominance of males is perhaps surprising for a language subject. While the incidence of males and females in the sample may have been fortuitous, it should be pointed out that there was in the case of Indonesian/Malay a relatively even distribution of both genders in 1988 in upper secondary schools and in Year 12 (see Chapter 2).

8.3.2.2 Place of birth and language background

Of the 158 students in the Indonesian/Malay sample, 127 (80.4%) were born in Australia and 31 (19.6%) were born overseas. Table 8.5 provides a list of the countries of birth of this latter group:

Country	Number of Students
Indonesia	1
Malaysia	16
Singapore	1
Philippines	3
Vietnam	2
England	1
Scotland	1
Spain	1
Lebanon	1
New Zealand	2
Papua New Guinea	2
Total	31

Table 8.5
Number of Students Born Overseas by Country of Birth

The only significant group amongst those born overseas were the 16 (51.6%) born in Malaysia. However, not all of these spoke Indonesian/Malay in the home. Table 8.6 indicates the number in the sample who spoke a language other than English in the home:

Language Spoken in the Home	Number of Students
Indonesian	4 (2.7%)
Malay	4 (2.7%)
Other LOTE*	26 (17.8%)
English Only	112 (76.7%)
Total	146 (100%)

Table 8.6
Number of Background Speakers by Language
* Arabic, Chinese (including dialects), French, German, Italian, Spanish and Others.

The 12 respondents who are missing were in all likelihood confused by the question which asked 'Which language other than English is used in the home?' but then gave as a possible response 'English only'. Although there were 34 (23.3%) who spoke a language other than English in the home, only eight students were background speakers of Indonesian/Malay. That so few of those born in Malaysia spoke Indonesian/Malay is not surprising as the greatest proportion of migrants from Malaysia are ethnically Chinese, who speak either Chinese or English in the home. It should also be noted here that there are few background speakers of this language in the sample. This may have been due to the fact that in New South Wales, for example, background speakers of Indonesian/Malay are concentrated in a few schools only. One of these is the Open High School which was not included in the sample.

The small number of background speakers in the sample correlates well with student self-assessment of their proficiency in the language. Questions 13 and 17 asked L1 and L2 students to rate their ability to use Indonesian/Malay as poor, good, very good or fluent on four language components: speaking, listening, writing and reading. Each rating was numerically scored from 1 to 4, with the value 1 assigned to a rating of 'poor' and the value 4 assigned to a rating of 'fluent'. The highest possible rating is 16 and the lowest is 4. Responses to these questions for L1 and L2 students are tabulated in Table 8.7:

Rating	L1 Students	Rating	L2 Students
4-7	16.3%	-	-
8-9	45.5%	8-9	45.5%
10-12	26.8%	10-11	36.4%
13-16	11.4%	15	18.2%

Table 8.7
Student Self-assessment of proficiency in Indonesian/Malay

Some 88.6% of L1 students in the sample rated their proficiency at less than 12 and 81.9% of L2 students rated their proficiency at less than 11. Of the L1 sample only seven (5.7%) gave themselves a rating of 16, while the highest rating of 15 in the case of L2 students was claimed by only two (18.2%) students. Although there may have been a number of reasons why students rated their proficiency in Indonesian/Malay as they did, the fact that so few rated it as 'fluent' correlates well with a sample which contained so few background speakers of the language.

8.3.2.3 Educational background of parents

Table 8.8 indicates that the sample of students learning Indonesian/Malay have parents who are highly educated. Over 50% of the students in the sample had a parent who has a tertiary degree. This suggests that the sample is representative of a middle to upper middle class population.

	Father	Mother
Primary	2.0%	0.6%
Post Primary	20.3%	27.6%
Year 12	15.0%	22.4%
Undergraduate Degree	27.5%	27.6%
Postgraduate Degree	30.4%	20.5%
Other	5.2%	1.3%

Table 8.8
Educational Background of Parents

8.3.2.4 Subjects studied concurrently at school

Question 6 asked students to list the subjects which they were studying at school at the time of the survey. The number of subjects which they listed was exhaustive and so only those subjects have been listed in Table 8.9 which scored above 17% of responses. Exceptions are ancient history and other modern languages.

It is quite evident from the table that most students combine their study of Indonesian/Malay with mathematics and science subjects. The only other significant combinations of subjects, which this group takes together with the study of the language, are history, economics and geography. It is striking that combinations with other languages other than English are very rare. Only French, which occurs in 16 (10%) cases, has any significance at all.

Subjects	Total
Mathematics	91 (58%)
Introductory Calculus	33 (21%)
Chemistry	68 (43%)
Physics	60 (38%)
Biology	58 (37%)
History/Modern History	37 (23%)
Ancient History	22 (14%)
Economics	35 (22%)
Geography	28 (18%)
French	16 (10%)
Chinese	3 (2%)
Japanese	2 (1%)
German	1 (0.6%)
Spanish	1 (0.6%)

Table 8.9
Most Common Subjects Taken by Students of Indonesian/Malay

Table 8.10 tabulates gender differences in the choice of subjects. While the combination of Indonesian/Malay with physics and chemistry occurs more frequently in the case of males than females, the combination with mathematics and biology is more frequent amongst females than males. Males are more likely to combine economics with the language than females but females combine the study of Indonesian/Malay with history and geography more frequently than do males. The combination of French and Indonesian/Malay is more frequent amongst females than males.

Subject	Male	Female
Maths	56.7%	60.6%
Introductory Calculus	26.7%	13.6%
Chemistry	51.1%	33.3%
Physics	54.5%	16.7%
Biology	26.7%	51.5%
History/Modern History	18.9%	30.3%
Ancient History	5.6%	25.8%
Economics	31.1%	10.6%
Geography	14.4%	22.7%
French	4.4%	18.2%
Chinese	2.2%	1.5%
Japanese	2.2%	0.0%
German	0.0%	1.5%
Spanish	0.0%	1.5%

Table 8.10
Gender Differences in Subject Choice

8.3.2.5 Intended level of education of students of Indonesia/Malay

Table 8.11 tabulates the level of education to which students in the sample intend to proceed after secondary school.

The table indicates that 84.1% of the whole sample of students learning Indonesian/Malay intend to continue their education to tertiary level. If those intending to enter the TAFE system are also included, then 91% of the students in the sample plan to continue their education after leaving secondary school. This

correlates well with the levels of education of their parents. The level of those wishing to proceed to tertiary education is spread quite evenly across genders and type of school. However, only 72.2% of students in the sample in Victoria and 78.5% of those in New South Wales indicated that they wished to go on to tertiary study compared with 95.3% in Western Australia and 93.3% in Queensland. In the case of New South Wales the lower percentage is compensated for by those intending to study at TAFE (12.7%).

Level of Education	All Students
Year 11	1.9%
Year 12	7.0%
TAFE	7.0%
Tertiary	84.1%

Table 8.11
Intended General Level of Education of Students of Indonesian/Malay

Table 8.12 shows the level of education to which students in the sample intend to pursue the study of Indonesian/Malay by gender:

Level of Education	Male	Female	Total
Year 11	5 (8.5%)	2 (4.7%)	7 (6.8%)
Year 12	43 (72.9%)	33 (76.7%)	76 (74.5%)
TAFE	1 (1.7%)	1 (2.3%)	2 (2.0%)
Tertiary	10 (16.9%)	7 (16.3%)	17 (16.7%)
Total	59 (100%)	43 (100%)	102 (100%)

Table 8.12
Intended Level of Study of Indonesian/Malay.*
* Only 102 of the 113 continuing respondents answered questions 12 and 16.

It is clear from Table 8.11 that while 84.1% of all students in the sample intend to further their studies at tertiary level, Table 8.12 shows that 74.5% of students in the sample intend to discontinue their study of Indonesian/Malay after Year 12. Only 16.7% of L1 and L2 students (18.7% if TAFE is included) plan to include the study of Indonesian/Malay in their programs of study at the post secondary level. These proportions are the same for males and females. However, a slightly larger proportion of students in Government schools (19.6%) plan to continue the study of the language at tertiary level than do students in Independent schools (13.2%).

8.3.3 Reasons for discontinuing the study of Indonesian/Malay

The small proportion of students who continue the study languages other than English in the upper secondary school has been a matter of concern for some time. In the case of Indonesian/Malay, the high attrition rate at this level of education has been associated with the presence of background speakers of the language who have sat for the same final Year 12 examination as have second language learners (see Chapters 2 and 4).

Some 45 (28.5%) of the 158 students of Indonesian/Malay in our sample discontinued the study of the language after Year 10 (see Table 8.4). Table 8.13 tabulates the reasons why these students discontinued the study of Indonesian/Malay after Year 10. Those who gave up the study of

Indonesian/Malay gave a range of reasons for doing so. The most important reasons were dislike of the teacher (18.8% of L1 students) and the opinion that other subjects were more important (16.8% of L1 students). Students who took the language as their second language indicated that timetable clashes were an important consideration (14.3% of L2 students). A very large number of L1 and L2 gave 'other reasons' for their decision to give up the study of Indonesian/Malay. Not all the questionnaires were available for perusal, but the ones that were tended to confirm that other subjects were considered more important or that the student did not find the study of Indonesian/Malay enjoyable.

Reasons	L1	L2
I do not like language study.	5.9%	7.1%
There were too many native-speakers in class.	4.0%	-
The subject was too difficult.	7.9%	7.1%
My friends did not take this subject.	4.0%	-
I did not like the teacher.	18.8%	7.1%
The language was not available.	1.0%	7.1%
I consider other subjects more important.	16.8%	7.1%
There were time-table clashes.	5.9%	14.3%
Other reasons.	35.6%	21.4%

Table 8.13
Reasons for Discontinuing Indonesian/Malay

Very few students in the sample indicated that the presence of background speakers in the class was an important reason for their decision to abandon the study of Indonesian/Malay after Year 10. This correlates with the fact that there were so few background speakers of the language in the sample. It is clear that few students in the sample could have had any experience of background speakers in class. One of the reasons for this is the fact that in New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia, for example, background speakers are segregated from second language learners by syllabuses and examinations. It should also be mentioned that the questionnaire at this point did not directly address the question of the presence of background speakers sitting for the same final Year 12 examination as second language learners.

Some gender differences in the sample at this point are worth noting. While 50% of the females who discontinued Indonesian/Malay after Year 10 did so because they did not like the teacher, marginally fewer males gave this as a reason (44%). None of the L1 females who discontinued the language did so because they did not enjoy the study of language but 22 % of L1 males gave this as a reason. Some 71% of L1 males discontinued the study of Indonesian/Malay because they considered other subjects more important. However, just 55% of L1 females did so for this reason.

8.3.4 Reasons for continuing the study of Indonesian/Malay

In questions 11 and 15, L1 and L2 students were asked to rate a series of 15 statements on a scale 1, 'not important', to 5, 'very important'. Table 8.14 below sets out the statements and student responses. An average rating for each response has been calculated and any rating below the median of 2.5 can be considered as non-committal.

Reasons for continuing	L ₁	L ₂
1. Ethnic origin and/or religion.	1.7	1.8
2. Contact with the ethnic community in Australia which speaks the language.	1.8	1.9
3. Other contact with the country where the language is spoken (past travel, friends, parents, work, etc).	2.7	2.8
4. I thought this would be an easy subject for me.	2.6	2.9
5. I had good marks in the past.	3.6	4
6. I like studying languages.	3.7	4
7. I like studying about the culture and society of the country where the language is spoken.	3.4	3.6
8. I particularly like the teacher.	2.6	2.7
9. I do not have definite plans for the future but I feel that the language would enhance my future career prospects.	3.7	3.9
10. I have definite plans to work in an area of employment where the language is used.	2.6	2
11. I want to travel or live in the country.	3.4	3.1
12. I have been advised to continue by my family.	2.4	3.1
13. I have been advised to continue by my teachers.	2.4	2.8
14. One or more of my friends are taking the subject.	1.7	2.5
15. Although I had no strong desire to continue, other subjects were even less attractive.	1.7	1.8

Table 8.14
Responses to Reasons for Continuing

Tables 8.15 and 8.16 tabulate the responses of the sample according to integrative and instrumental reasons. In the case of students taking Indonesian/Malay both integrative and instrumental reasons provided strong motivation for these students to continue the study of the language, confirming the findings of other surveys of the motivation of students in schools and universities (see Section 8.1).

Reasons for continuing	L ₁	L ₂
2. Contact with the ethnic community in Australia which speaks the language.	1.8	1.9
3. Other contact with the country where the language is spoken (past travel, friends, parents, work, etc).	2.7	2.8
6. I like studying languages.	3.7	4.0
7. I like studying about the culture and society of the country where the language is spoken.	3.4	3.6
8. I particularly like the teacher.	2.6	2.7
11. I want to travel or live in the country.	3.4	3.1

Table 8.15
Integrative Reasons for Continuing

Amongst the integrative reasons, enjoyment of the study of the language, the desire to understand the culture and society of the country where the language is spoken, and travel, provide the strongest motivation. Membership of and contact with the Indonesian/Malaysian community in Australia and abroad played a far less significant role in motivating students in the sample to study the language. On the one hand this is not surprising in view of the size and distribution of the Indonesian/Malaysian community in Australia. However, at this point we have also to keep in mind that our sample did not locate many background speakers of the language.

The award of good marks in the past played a very significant role in motivating students to continue the study of Indonesian/Malay. This is not surprising given that the general concern of students in the upper secondary schools is to attain high marks in the final examination at the end of Year 12. Results in this

examination of course have considerable bearing upon students future careers and education.

Reasons for continuing	L ₁	L ₂
4. I thought this would be an easy subject for me.	2.6	2.9
5. I had good marks in the past.	3.6	4.0
9. I do not have definite plans for the future but I feel that the language would enhance my future career prospects.	3.7	3.9
10. I have definite plans to work in an area of employment where the language is used.	2.6	2.0

Table 8.16
Instrumental Reasons for Continuing

Despite the influence of good marks in motivating students to continue the study of Indonesian/Malay, their self-evaluation of their proficiency in the language suggests that the majority of those who continued the study of the language have evaluated their performance negatively. Table 8.17 tabulates the self-evaluation of L₁ and L₂ students. A rating of less than 10 is considered negative or 'not fluent' and one of greater than 10 positive or 'fluent'.

Type of students	Negative	Positive
L ₁	87 (70.7%)	36 (29.3%)
L ₂	8 (72.7%)	3 (27.3%)
Total	95 (71.0%)	39 (29.0%)

Table 8.17
Self-evaluation of L₁ and L₂ students

Table 8.4 shows that 71.5% of the sample continued the study of Indonesian/Malay, yet 71% of respondents to this question then rated themselves negatively and only 29% positively. This perhaps suggests that these students experienced difficulties in learning the language.

Responses to the statement 'I do not have definite plans for the future but I feel that the language would enhance my future career prospects' also drew a very high response amongst the instrumental reasons for continuing the study of the language. However, the much lower response to the statement that 'I have definite plans to work in an area of employment where the language is used' indicates that while students are motivated to continue the study of the language because they believe it will enhance their prospects of employment, they do not have any precise idea of where they will find such employment. Furthermore, the large proportion of students in the sample who intend to cease the study of the language after Year 12 suggests that they are also unaware of the levels of proficiency which they will require in the work place. Their own self-evaluation of their fluency in the language emphasises the point, for the majority clearly evaluated their fluency at levels well below that which would be required in the work place. The high rating given to prospects of future employment may well be related to the current promotion of the relevance of Asian languages to Australia's economic prosperity in the future (see Chapter 5).

Tables 8.18 and 8.19 tabulate the gender differences across integrative and instrumental reasons for continuing the study of Indonesian/Malay.

While the number of L₂ students is perhaps too small to have any statistical validity, in the case of L₁ students it is clear that there is little difference

between males and females in the pattern of response for instrumental motivation. However, females clearly rate integrative reasons more highly than do males. The differences are particularly marked in the case of statements 6, 7 and 8. These statements refer to enjoyment of the study of language, culture and society and like of the teacher.

Reasons*	L1		L2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
2.	1.8	1.9	2.5	1.0
3.	2.7	2.7	3.5	2.3
6.	3.3	4.2	3.8	4.3
7.	3.0	4.0	3.3	4.0
8.	2.1	3.1	1.3	3.7
11.	3.2	3.6	2.0	4.3

Table 8.18

Integrative Reasons for Continuing by Gender

* The numbers under 'Reasons' in this table refer to the reasons listed in Table 8.15

Reasons*	L1		L2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
4.	3.0	2.2	3.3	1.7
5.	3.8	3.5	4.5	3.3
9.	3.6	3.9	3.5	4.3
10.	2.6	2.7	1.5	3.0

Table 8.19

Instrumental Reasons for Continuing by Gender

*The numbers listed under 'Reasons' in this table refer to the reasons listed in Table 8.16

In the case of the statement 'I like studying languages', 82.1% of females gave a rating of 4 and 5. Only 39.2% of males in the sample gave this statement the same rating. Above, when discussing the reasons why students in the sample discontinued the study of Indonesian/Malay, we noted that, while no females indicated that they did so because they did not enjoy the study of languages, 22% of the males did so. Some 70.7% of females gave similar ratings to the importance of liking the study of culture compared with 33.3% of males.

In responding to the statement 'I particularly like my teacher', 48.8% of females continuers gave the statement a rating of 4 or 5, indicating that it was very important, compared with males, only 14.1% of whom gave this statement the same rating. Moreover, 50% of the females who discontinued the study of the language did so because they disliked the teacher compared with only 44% of males who discontinued the subject. It would seem then that girls are more influenced by their teacher to continue or discontinue the study of Indonesian/Malay than are boys. Nevertheless it is clear that, in the case of continuing students — males and females — enjoyment of the study of language and culture and success at it are more important in motivating them to continue the study of Indonesian/Malay than are like and dislike of the teacher.

8.4 Conclusions

The present survey uncovered only four (5.4%) background speakers of Indonesian/Malay in the sample. It is not surprising that few students in the sample then had any experience of background speakers of the language in class,

and discontinuations amongst them were therefore not highly motivated by the presence of background speakers in class. Some caution is necessary, however, in interpreting the responses of students in the sample on this issue. In the first place the question which was asked specifically addressed the issue of background speakers in class and not the issue which has given rise to concern in the past: the presence of background speakers in the same final Year 12 examination as second language learners. In New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia in Years 11 and 12, there are special syllabuses for background speakers of the language. It could be, then, that background speakers are now segregated from second language learners by separate syllabuses and examinations and are even confined to a limited numbers of schools in each State. If this is indeed the case throughout Australia, then it would seem that the presence of background speakers is no longer an issue of importance when considering the motivation of students who discontinue the study of this language.

It would seem that most students in the sample combine the study of Indonesian/Malay with mathematics and science subjects or with economics and history. It is notable that very few students in the sample took Indonesian/Malay and studied another modern language.

We have seen in the case of Wykes and King's and Eltis and Cooney's surveys that students discontinued the study of languages out of lack of interest and because language study was considered more burdensome and harder than other subjects and therefore likely to inhibit students striving to maximise their aggregate scores in examinations at the end of Year 12. In these surveys discontinuers also attached little utilitarian value to languages.

The 28% of students in the present survey who discontinued the study of Indonesian/Malay did so for similar reasons. Although these students did not indicate that lack of interest in the language was a major motivation, they clearly indicated that they regarded other subjects as more important. This was particularly the case with males. Timetable clashes appeared to be an important consideration in the case of the few L2 students in the sample, a finding which perhaps might help explain the fact that very few students in the sample took a second modern language along with Indonesian/Malay. This suggests that languages may be slotted as alternatives into the same place in the timetable. The other major reason why students discontinued the subject was a dislike of their teacher. Girls, in particular, seemed more motivated than boys to give up the language for this reason.

In contrast, the 71.5% of students who continued the study of Indonesian/Malay in Year 11 were highly motivated by interest in studying the language and culture and a desire to travel to Indonesia and Malaysia, and had a strong sense of achievement conveyed to them by a record of good marks in the subject. Despite the sense of achievement which these students obviously felt, a sizeable majority still rated their performance in the language negatively (as much less than fluent).

Clearly, continuing students were also more motivated by the belief that the study of Indonesian/Malay would enhance their prospects of employment. However, few in the sample had any definite idea of where they would find

such employment, and, given the fact that 84.1% of them intended to give up studying the language when leaving school, they appeared unaware of the level of proficiency they would require in the workplace. Moreover, students' own self-evaluation of their command of the language emphasises their lack of realism on this point. The majority of them evaluated their fluency at levels far below those which would be required in employment. Nicholas *et al.* have pointed out the dangers of unrealistic and false hopes of employment, arguing that when such hopes are dashed inevitably cynicism and even distress are likely to follow.

There were more males than females in our sample of students studying Indonesian/Malay in Year 11. This is unusual in a language subject but accords well with the proportions of males and females who were studying the subject in the upper secondary schools in 1988. Leal *et al.* in 1990 found that 75% of university students studying Indonesian/Malay were female. In our example, however, we noted that more or less equal proportions of males and females intended to pursue the study of the language at university.

The survey did reveal differences of motivation between female and male students of Indonesian/Malay. The principle differences lay in integrative reasons. Far more females, both continuers and discontinuers, were motivated by an interest in and enjoyment of the study of the language and culture than were males. Females in the sample were also more motivated by a like or dislike of their teachers than were the males.

Nicholas *et al.*, when commenting on the substantial differences between males and females studying languages other than English, emphasised that the issue of concern was the number of males opting out of studying languages. The present survey indicates that males who discontinued the study of Indonesian/Malay did so because they did not enjoy language study and because they considered other subjects were more important. Although the gender differences in the case of students studying Indonesian/Malay in the upper secondary schools may not be as pronounced as they are in the case of other languages, as Nicholas *et al.* point out, care will be needed to ensure that in attracting more males to the study of Indonesian/Malay, nothing is done to detract from the motivation of females doing so (Nicholas *et al.* 1993:165-166).

The findings of the present survey, when compared with those of Wykes and King in the mid 1960s and those of Eltis and Cooney in the early 1980s, indicate that there is some historical depth to the reasons why students continue or discontinue the study of languages in general and Indonesian/Malay in particular. Throughout the period covered by the three surveys, support from home for the study of languages has been positive, but not as important a motivation as others. It would seem that by far the most important motivation throughout the period has been interest in the study of language, and students' sense of achievement, in particular their anticipation of the contribution which language subjects would make to their aggregate marks in examinations at the end of Year 12. These marks are of course important to students' future education and careers. Not surprisingly perhaps, students' like and dislike of their teachers has also been an important issue.

The surveys also reveal important gender differences in the motivation of students of languages in the upper secondary schools over the period covered by

the surveys. Girls are particularly motivated by an interest in the study of languages and are more likely to be influenced by their like or dislike of their teachers than are boys.

There would also appear to have been changes in the relevance of some issues in the period. While Wykes and King's survey revealed that students in the mid 1960s attached little or no utilitarian value to languages, by the early 1980s students' attitudes on this issue appear to have altered. Both Eltis and Cooney and the present survey of students of Indonesian/Malay indicate that from the early 1980s students have attached importance to the use of languages and those students who continued the study of languages believed that command of a language would enhance their prospects of employment. Furthermore, while Wykes and King discovered little interest in the study of culture in association with language study, both Eltis and Cooney and the present survey indicate that students continuing the study of languages, particularly females, were motivated by the cultural understanding which they gained through the study of languages other than English.

9 CONCLUSIONS

In the period between 1986 and 1992, the numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay in schools and universities in Australia increased substantially. In 1988, there were 24,925 students learning Indonesian/Malay in Australian schools, and, in 1991, their numbers reached 45,497. This was an increase of 20,572 or 82.54%. Similarly, in higher education there was an increase in numbers studying the language. The student load of those studying Indonesian/Malay went from 200 EFTSUs in 1988 to 502 EFTSUs in 1992, an increase of 302 EFTSUs or 151%. Still in this period Indonesian/Malay was only the fifth of eight languages studied in Australian schools by 96% of students of languages (1988) and the sixth of eight languages studied by 92.7% of students of languages in higher education (1990). Whatever the increase in numbers has been, students learning the language represent only a small proportion of students studying languages other than English in Australia. Moreover, students studying languages other than English were themselves only a small proportion of all students in education. In 1988, for example, students studying languages other than English were 20.2% of the total school population of Australia, and in 1990 only 1.888% of total student load (EFTSU) in higher education. As the latter figures indicate, comparatively few students study languages in higher education. In fact the point at which students withdraw from the study of languages is on entering senior high school. In the case of Indonesian/Malay the increases in numbers have been overwhelmingly in the primary schools and at the lower secondary level. In 1991 only 2.75% of all secondary students learning the Indonesian/Malay were in Year 12. In this they were typical of all students of languages other than English. It is clear then that the overwhelming number of students in education who are studying Indonesian/Malay can be expected to have only very low levels of proficiency in the language. Few enter higher education with a proficiency in the language which will permit them to graduate with the high levels of proficiency required for effective use of the language in the work place. More optimistically, however, it might be argued that, if a substantial proportion of the increasing numbers of students learning the language at the primary and lower secondary levels of education can be encouraged to further their study of the language in the senior high school and then in higher education, this situation might change quite radically.

Public opinion polls of the late 1980s which assessed community attitudes towards studying languages other than English indicate that, while Australians regard the study of languages as important, they clearly regard other subjects as more important. Amongst languages other than English, Indonesian/Malay was rated at this time as only the sixth most important language to study after Japanese, French, German, Italian, Modern Greek and Chinese. Clearly then the statistical information provided in this report would appear to represent some measure of the community's response to recent government led initiatives to encourage the more widespread teaching of languages generally and of Indonesian/Malay in particular. In seeking to understand this response, we are called upon to explain two things: a general cultural and educational environment in which Australians display less inclination to study languages than other subjects, and the particularities of the case of Indonesian/Malay relative to other languages.

Viviani (1992:63-68) has argued that recent discussion concerning the place of the study of Asia and its languages in Australian education must be viewed in the context of a larger debate about the control and content of education in Australia — a debate which she argues is crucial to the future of Asian studies because it involves a struggle about ideas and the control of resources. The educational debate is part of a still larger one concerning Australian cultural identity and Australia's place in the world. In the 1970s and 1980s, an awareness has grown in the Australian community that it can no longer rely upon the once special relationships with the United Kingdom and the United States of America to guarantee Australia's national security and underpin its economic prosperity. Australians then have had cause to consider the multicultural make-up of Australian society and to contemplate the choice between 'opening and closing our economy, our society and our culture' (Viviani 1992:67). It has been in this environment of cultural change and uncertainty that debates continue to take place about the flag, the republic, Aboriginal land rights and deaths in custody, Asian immigration, and which languages other than English ought to be taught in Australian education.

That languages other than English have been very much on the national agenda in the period between 1986 and 1992 has had to do both with the central role which multiculturalism came to play in determining Australian identity during the 1970s and 1980s, and continuing concern about declining economic prosperity and reform of the Australian economy and its competitiveness in the markets of the Asian region. Clearly the levels of student participation in programs for the study of languages other than English in Australian education between 1986 and 1992 indicate that the study of languages has not yet recovered from the period before 1975, when languages other than English came to be considered quite peripheral to Australian life. To describe the abolition of the language requirement for entry to higher education as the greatest single blow dealt to the study of languages other than English in Australian education, as commentators have frequently done, is to recognise only their one-time place in the education of an academic elite who sought entry to higher education. Where languages survived in matriculation packages before 1975 it was frequently because they were valued as good predictors of academic ability rather than because they had any intrinsic pragmatic value in everyday life. The Australia of the years between 1945 and 1975 was one in which the White Australia policy and an assimilationist immigration policy held sway; one in which Australia's economic prosperity and security in a Cold War world were guaranteed by an English-speaking community of interests founded upon special relationships with the 'Mother Country' and the United States of America. The languages which dominated the curriculum at this time, French, Latin and German, had little relevance either to the changing ethnic make-up of Australian society or to Australia's relationships with other nations, however much they identified the intellectual genealogy of Australian academics. In such a world, languages other than English were for the classroom and came to be regarded only as 'the legitimate interest of students of the arts, of literati (or at least of dilettantes)' (Ingram 1992:9).

The cumulative effect of a decade and a half of debate about multiculturalism had, by the mid 1980s, led to reconsideration of the place of languages in Australian social life. Languages were no longer entirely thought of as something to be learned in the classroom. They had a legitimate place in the

lives of black Australians and immigrant communities, who had a right both to be bilingual and to have an education which provided them not only with instruction in English but also in the language of their communities. The most impressive evidence of the impact of multiculturalism on language education in Australia has been the vast expansion in the number of languages available for study. In 1988, 54 were available in schools and in 1990 37 were offered in higher education. Then, following the adoption of the National Policy on Languages and growing awareness that hard economic times were here to stay for some time, the realisation has come that bilingualism for all Australians may well have some pragmatic role to play in the nation's economic recovery. Since the mid 1980s, it has been the languages of Asia's booming economies which have come to contest the educational ground with the languages of Australia's communities. While it has been Japanese which has caught most the public imagination in this respect, other languages of the Asian region, including Indonesian/Malay, have also benefited. Still, as numbers of students studying languages in Australia and also public opinion polls indicate, Australians do not consider the study of languages other than English very highly in their educational priorities. Critical in this situation at the present moment is the attitude of Australian business. Some businesses have understood well the value of a command of languages other than English and cultural knowledge to their success overseas. Most, however, have not been prepared to invest in personnel with these skills. This may be because they have been made cautious by the harsh economic environment in which they have had to operate in recent times and so reluctant to invest only on the promise of profits to be hard won in the long term. They may also be influenced by the conviction that English is the language of international business. Their unwillingness to invest in the study of languages other than English is matched by the attitudes of students in higher education. Students who study languages have little desire find employment in business or expectation of doing so, and students in faculties providing an education leading to a career in business, it would seem, see little value in the study of languages other than English.

If such factors as these have affected Australian attitudes towards the study of languages other than English generally, there have been others which have been of particular influence in the situation of Indonesian/Malay. In the first place, it is important to remember that at a time when multiculturalism has had such an important effect on language education in Australia, there was no large Indonesian speaking community to take advantage of this change in education. Beyond this one important issue, attitudes towards the external relationship between Australia and Indonesia have been of influence. In recent years the official relationship between the governments of Australia and Indonesia has improved. Whatever the official relationship, however, Australian public opinion — especially that of middle-class educated Australians — remains wary of Indonesia and uncertain about the future of the relationship between the two nations. Fear of Indonesia as a threat to the security of Australia and anxiety about immigration from Asia are old cultural themes in the history of Australia's relationships with Indonesia, dating back to the age of the Cold War and earlier. More recently, since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, Indonesia has also become the focus of strong moral condemnation in some sections of the Australian community because of human rights abuses. Historically, the economic relationship between the two countries has also been small in comparison with those which have existed between Australia and Indonesia and

between those countries and their major trading partners. For most Australians Indonesia has been since the Second World War a developing nation, a major recipient of Australian aid, and not a dynamically modernising economy. Most Australian business people are unfamiliar with Indonesia and simply lack the detailed information which would enable them to take advantage of the market and investment opportunities which are undoubtedly there. At best Indonesia is for very many Australians only a pleasant tourist destination.

Such attitudes and the resulting unfamiliarity with Indonesia are in the long term untenable and in the end damaging to Australia's own interests. Realistically, Indonesia has not proved to be a direct threat to Australia's security in the past. Nor is it at the present time. In a region in which Australia cannot depend any longer upon a special relationship with any other nation to protect our security interests, there is much of mutual advantage to be achieved from diplomatic and strategic co-operation between Indonesia and Australia. It has also to be recognised that not all Indonesians have been responsible for those actions which have brought charges of human rights abuse against the Indonesian Government, and, indeed, there are many Indonesians who disapprove of what has happened. Moreover, however much Indonesia might still be regarded as a developing nation, its economy has been growing over the past two decades at rates which can only be dreamt of in Australia at the present time. There are undoubtedly opportunities there for Australian trade and investment of mutual advantage to both countries. Optimistic predictions indicate that trade between Australia and Indonesia is set to treble to AUD\$7 billion by the year 2000. Australian firms which are engaged in business with Indonesia at the present time appear to share this optimistic vision of the future business relationships between the two countries. Beyond Australia's security interests and business relationship with Indonesia, however, one might also reasonably expect contact in the fields of education, science and technology, medicine, the environment, the media and the arts to continue to grow and to intensify in the future.

There are several points to be drawn from the above. As Viviani has pointed out, there has been for some six years or more debate at Federal and State levels of government, in schools and in universities and in the community, about which languages ought to have priority. The debate has been about the 'relative balance' which ought to be struck between the categories of European, community and Asian languages (Viviani 1992:64; compare Clyne 1991:230-1). There is no intention to engage in a discussion here of either the validity of such categories of languages or about the relative values of languages. What is clear is that Australians require in the community for one good reason or another a capacity to communicate in a range of languages. The National Policy on Languages listed nine Key Languages of Wider Teaching. The Commonwealth Government's Priority Languages Incentive Scheme lists 13 languages from which State and Territory governments have to prioritise eight, and, as we have noted above, there are some 54 available for study in schools and 37 in higher education. These each represent some measure of demand and need in the community. What must be equally clear is that especially in times of declining prosperity the resources are simply not available to support the study of all languages at the same level at the same time. Priorities have to be set. These ought not to be calculated on the basis of narrow interests, that is, if one accepts the broadly argued rationale for bilingualism contained in the National Policy on Languages.

For too long in Australian education, the languages taught have not been relevant to the everyday life of the Australian community, and bilingualism has been perceived to be only for some privileged sections of the Australian community. What in the end matters, then, is that far larger numbers of Australians than at present from all sections of the community become bilingual and have the capacity to inhabit the cultural worlds of other peoples. In the end this will only happen if communicating in languages other than English becomes a meaningful part of the everyday life of individual Australians. So far as Indonesian/Malay is concerned, we have seen that there are good reasons why it has been prioritised, and it would be hard to imagine that in the foreseeable future relationships between Australia and Indonesia will alter so radically as to alter this judgement. What is at stake at the present time, however, is the gap between current Australian attitudes towards Indonesia and a more meaningful familiarity with Indonesia and Indonesians, one which will allow Australians to take advantage of the relationship between the two countries in their own interest as a nation and as individuals.

The period between 1986 and 1992 has seen the continued decline in economic prosperity in Australia. Government preoccupation with turning this situation around has emphasised the relationship between education and economic development. Improving the performance of Australian business in the marketplaces of the Asian region has led to a particular connection between the study of Asian languages and cultures and the restructuring of the Australian economy and the development of an export culture. Viviani describes the fear of an "ersatz" ... economics-driven Asianisation' of education which exists amongst teachers of Asian languages and studies. Because such a vision of educational change neglects the cultural and wider educational foundation of the study of Asia, it is argued, it is likely to result in a scholarly and more widespread backlash in the Australian community (Viviani 1992:63-4). This is the more likely if student interest in the study of languages, stimulated by the prospect of employment, is not rewarded with jobs requiring a command of particular languages at the end of the line.

It will of course be necessary to continue to argue the economic rationale in support of the study of Indonesian/Malay. At the same time, however, it is essential that there is a realistic and informed understanding of the level of communicative proficiency required in the workplace, its relationship with professional training and the number of jobs available in Australian firms doing business with Indonesia. More important still is the realisation that prospects of employment involving the study of Indonesian language and culture are not limited to the business relationship with Indonesia alone. Beyond this business relationship are security and environmental interests, and the interaction which will increasingly take place between scientists, technical experts, doctors and health workers, journalists, educators and those in the arts. It is of course important that accountants, engineers, lawyers and students of business management have a knowledge of Indonesia and Malaysia and ability to communicate in Indonesian/Malay, but it is equally important, as McGuire (1991) has argued, that students of journalism, environmental studies, health and medicine, political science, sociology, and education also have made available to them the opportunity to study the language and culture of Indonesia. Such a view, cognisant of the total relationship between Australia and Indonesia, will also permit teachers in the classroom to take advantage of the attitudes which

motivate students to pursue the study of languages and cultures. Students are not motivated only by the prospect of employment. They are also motivated to study Indonesian/Malay out of interest in the study of language and culture, a desire to travel and a sense of achievement.

The achievement of adequate levels of communicative proficiency in Indonesian/Malay is particularly crucial in the present climate of opinion in Australia where there is still doubt about the relevance of languages other than English in the everyday life of the community and scepticism about whether or not Australians can actually achieve the levels of proficiency required in the workplace. The ability to communicate successfully in a language means precisely the ability to negotiate cultural and social meanings. While such an ability of course requires high levels of linguistic proficiency, it also demands an awareness of the specifically sociolinguistic dimensions of the use of the language as well as historical and cultural knowledge, if the social and cultural meanings which are at stake while communicating are to be properly understood and addressed. At some point or other it will also involve the professional interests of particular individuals. Such competence is acquired over the entire period of learning the language as the student learns to communicate in one area of social life and then others. While at the beginning of the process those areas of social life which might be categorised as 'survival' are commonly taught, others are added progressively until the student is able to deal with a wider range of situations and to do so in an increasingly more sophisticated manner. The point to be drawn from this is that a communicative proficiency in a language is not something which a person has or does not have in any absolute sense. It is rather an ability which a person has in some measure even in the very beginning of learning a language but goes on acquiring as the learning process continues.

It is equally important to understand the relevance of communicative proficiency in Indonesian/Malay to employment. Generalised claims of the relevance of this language or that culture to activities of individuals and organisations are simply misleading. Different individuals and organisations have differing needs. Realistically, in the context of Australia's external relations with Indonesia, and communication with and amongst Indonesians in Australia, there are some who will continue to use English as the norm, while others will require differing levels of ability to communicate in Indonesian/Malay and different knowledges of Indonesia depending on the particular kinds of interaction in which they will be engaged (Marriott 1991:18-20). In such a situation, Ingram has argued that there is a need to identify carefully the linguistic and cultural needs which particular organisations and individuals in them have. He proposes a language audit designed to ascertain and to correlate an organisation's activities with the kind of linguistic skills and cultural knowledge it requires and then to specify the best mode of providing them (Ingram 1992:17).

There is a sound rational case for Indonesian/Malay to be studied more widely in Australian education, as there is for other languages. How widespread the study of Indonesian/Malay has been in Australian education, however, has historically been importantly affected by attitudes at play in the Australian community in the debate about Australian cultural identity and the general direction of social, economic and political life. The issue then is not one of good reason alone or even of rational management, but of an order of priorities.

established in the course of debate about ideas and values and political competition for the control of resources. As such, it has been and will continue to be dependent upon decisions which are made by those in strategically important positions in governments and bureaucracies, in schooling systems and school communities and in Australian homes. The Commonwealth and State governments of the 1980s and early 1990s, for all their economic instrumentality, have set an agenda which signals that Australia's future lies with the rest of world and not in isolation from it, in creating a society more open socially, economically and culturally. In this agenda the study of Asia and its languages generally, and the study of Indonesian/Malay language and culture in particular, have a part to play. The process of achieving this is not one which will be easily managed or governed by reason alone, for often powerful sentiments will be involved. In such a situation what individual educators and educational institutions are able to do to encourage the more widespread learning and teaching of Indonesian/Malay is clearly limited. This is not of course to argue that what goes on in and about the classroom in which Indonesian/Malay is taught is not a vitally important part of the process.

In general terms the present project found much to be very positive about in the developments which have taken place in recent years in the teaching of Indonesian/Malay in Australian schools. We have already drawn attention to the substantial increases in the numbers of students learning the languages in schools. It should be noted that slightly more boys than girls were studying the language, unusual in a language subject at any level of education. It would also seem that the problems which mixes of background speakers of the language and second language learners have given rise to in the past have been resolved at least for the moment. Moreover Commonwealth and State and Territory education authorities have all prioritised Indonesian/Malay. They have redesigned school curricula to provide better for the study of languages at both primary and secondary level, and rewritten syllabuses so that they are in general terms compatible with the new communicative method of teaching languages. Programs for teaching Indonesian/Malay which address the needs and interests of a broad spectrum of students in primary and secondary schools, and not just of an academic elite, are crucial if learning the language is to have appeal to students.

However, if there is room for optimism, there is also reason for concern. To learn any language successfully requires time. Students must be able to study the language continuously for a certain number of hours — in the case of Indonesian/Malay 1,140 hours for an adult to acquire a basic proficiency in the language — over a period of years, and to do so regularly and intensively. There is evidence that the hours available for studying the language in schools, at least in 1988, were inadequate and that quotas on subjects in Year 11 and timetabling difficulties have been an important disincentive to the study of the language in schools. Moreover it is clear that there are obstacles in the way of students seeking to continue the study of the language from one level of education to another. The project found evidence of strategies being put in place to ensure continuity of study between primary and secondary levels. How widespread such strategies were and whether they were achieving the desired results, the project was not able to determine. Continuity of study between the lower and senior high school was seriously affected by conscious decisions on the part of students and their parents that they should not continue their study of Indonesian/Malay but

choose other subjects which they considered more important. Continuity of study of the language across the senior high school / higher education divide, commentators have argued, has been negatively affected by the absence of a compulsory requirement for language study to enter higher education, scaling procedures in examinations at the end of Year 12 and procedures for entry into higher education. Furthermore, it would seem that whether or not the desire on the part of students to continue the study of Indonesian/Malay is realised depends upon the faculty in which the student enrolls in higher education. While students entering faculties of arts and education, where women predominate, are able to continue the study of the language, male (and female) students in other faculties are either not able or not encouraged to do so.

The project identified a core of trained and experienced teachers of Indonesian/Malay. However, it also identified evidence of a shortage of adequately trained teachers, especially at the primary level in some States. It is also clear that at a time of significant change in language education, when changes are taking place in the methodology of teaching languages and new technologies are creating the possibility of new kinds of program for the classroom, teachers are in need of support in the form of language consultants, professional development programs, up-to-date materials about contemporary Indonesia, and in-country training. After a period in which training teachers of Indonesian/Malay has not been a high priority, it is a daunting task to provide for an adequate supply of teachers of the language, teachers with high levels of proficiency, in-country experience, familiarity with the latest methods of teaching languages, in touch with contemporary Indonesia and Malaysia and comfortable with an increasingly sophisticated technology. It is not surprising then that the project identified inadequacies in programs currently available for training teachers of Indonesian/Malay. Not only have programs for training language teachers long been minimally staffed but graduates of existing programs have indicated their lack of satisfaction with the kind of training which they have received. Complaints involved both their training in the method of teaching languages and the levels of proficiency in the language they were able to achieve on graduation.

The teaching and learning of Indonesian/Malay in higher education has also made important gains in the period between 1986 and 1992. Above mention has been made of the substantial increase in student numbers studying the language. It is notable that, where substantial increases in the numbers of students have occurred, an important contributing factor has often been strong institutional support for the study of Indonesian/Malay. This has often been the support of an individual, a Vice-Chancellor or Dean. More importantly it has been the presence of a critical mass of Indonesianists amongst the academic staff of an institution, not just in the department teaching the language but elsewhere in the institution in other departments and faculties, and of substantial library resources. It is of course under such circumstances that the teaching of a language can take place under ideal conditions. Above it has been argued that the ability to communicate effectively in a language involves not just high levels of linguistic proficiency but a knowledge of the sociolinguistic dimensions of its use, as well as historical and cultural knowledge. At some point it also involves the specifically professional interest of particular individuals. A program to teach a language in such a holistic manner obviously requires staff thoroughly trained in the methodologies of teaching languages and capable of carrying out research

in this area involving the language they teach. It ought also to involve the active participation in the language program itself and beyond it of other members of staff in a variety of academic and professional disciplines. The best chances of providing staffing support for such an enterprise are of course in an institution where there is the required critical mass of Indonesianists and the required library resources. Where such support cannot be provided by a single institution, it ought to be made available by co-operative arrangements between institutions in the same region.

Of course conditions under which the language is currently being taught are not always so ideal. A product of the present expansion of the teaching of Indonesian/Malay in universities has been a proliferation of programs with increasing numbers of students but supported by low staffing establishments. There are several explanations as to why this is occurring. It may be a natural staffing lag as programs expand suddenly, and there can be no doubt that in some instances it has resulted from the massive removal of funds from faculties teaching the humanities and social sciences, where programs of Indonesian/Malay are primarily located. Whatever the reason, such a situation fails to recognise that high staff-student ratios do not provide for the intensity of contact required between teacher and student that learning a language demands. Nor can there be much expectation that language teachers who have high numbers of contact hours with students and regular assessments to complete will easily be able to develop innovative and up-to-date language programs and course materials. Moreover, in a situation where there is no widespread commitment in other departments and faculties to the study of Indonesia and Malaysia, there can be little expectation of a stable basis for the ongoing teaching of the language or for teaching and research in those areas of linguistic and cultural studies which have been typically attached to departments of language.

Above it has been argued that in the future the economic, political, and cultural dimensions of the relationship between Australia and Indonesia are ones that require students in a wide range of faculties to have access to courses to study the language and the society and culture of Indonesia. The project found that the study of Indonesian/Malay was available to students in faculties beyond arts and education, in degrees of commerce, economics or business studies, sometimes in engineering, law and nursing and in one or two instances of science and veterinary science. It was not possible to determine the numbers of students who were studying Indonesian/Malay in these different degrees. However, there is evidence to suggest that availability certainly does not always mean that students wish or are actively encouraged to take advantage of the opportunities available. It is also as clear in higher education as it is in schools that the hours available for the study of Indonesian/Malay are too few to expect students to have achieved high levels of proficiency in the language on graduation. However, departments teaching the language have found or are in the process of finding ways to address the problem of lack of time by creating degrees requiring the study of the language in-country for up to twelve months and by accrediting intensive courses taught outside normal teaching periods.

The period between 1986 and 1992 saw a welcome and renewed endeavour to prepare materials for teaching Indonesian/Malay in schools and universities. Apart from the publication of new coursebooks and readers by individual

authors, there has been government funding for a number of major projects. The National Indonesian Language Curriculum Project has produced a curriculum for teaching Indonesian/Malay in Australian primary and secondary schools together with resource materials which include teachers' handbooks, student resource books, audio tapes, a photo pack and other items. It is important that this material become available as soon as possible as teachers are in need of both the curriculum and the resource materials to develop classroom programs. The nationally funded TIFL project is currently in progress. It is designed to develop a proficiency rating scale for Indonesian/Malay, teaching materials broadly conceived within the communicative mode to teach the language in tertiary institutions, materials for training teachers of Indonesian/Malay and materials for teaching Indonesian/Malay for special purposes. Finally, funding has been provided for a project begun in 1993 designed to develop authentic Indonesian teaching materials for students in Years 9-12. The provision of government funding to support these initiatives has been very welcome. However, recent history has shown how easily programs for teaching Indonesian/Malay and materials for the classroom can become outdated. The development of language programs and teaching materials, methodologically up-to-date, utilising the latest technology and above all in touch with contemporary events in Indonesia and Malaysia, is an ongoing process and cannot be done once and for all. Indonesian/Malay is not so widely taught anywhere in the world outside of Indonesia and Malaysia as it is in Australia. Commercially supported projects to provide language courses and materials are of course possible, but inevitably will be limited by the size of the Australian market. Historically it has been government, therefore, which has provided financial support for major projects and no doubt this will be required again in the future. However, much can be done to support such developments if educational institutions are realistic about the teaching loads which teachers can sensibly manage. Overloaded teachers have neither the time nor energy to remain up-to-date and innovative. Time, financial support, opportunities to visit Indonesia and Malaysia regularly, the reward of promotion for designing programs and developing course materials could go a long way to ensuring that much of the development which needs to take place on an ongoing basis will indeed occur within the budgets of schools and universities.

In the case of Indonesian/Malay, functional-notional and communicative methodologies which began to affect the teaching of European languages in the early 1980s only began to reach the classroom and influence the preparation of classroom materials in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Leal *et al.* noted the scepticism and lack of consensus in tertiary language departments about the claims of any particular method of teaching languages and assessment procedures (Leal *et al.* 1991 1:106-14). An aspect of that lack of consensus, as Viviani points out, is the controversy which has surrounded the adoption of the new communicative orthodoxy and the significant social and professional pressure which has been brought to bear on teachers to adopt the method (Viviani 1992:64). McMenimen (1992:24-30) provides commentary on the development of the method and a critique of it. Its considerable strength is its emphasis on the purposeful use of language in the classroom and an insistence that tasks in class resemble as far as possible the real-life speech situations for which the class is preparation. This emphasis on authenticity is important because it highlights the relevance of languages in the everyday life of the community outside of the classroom. The pragmatic value of languages can be demonstrated in the learning process in other ways: through immersion programs, contact with local

Indonesian/Malay speaking communities, periods of in-country travel and study, and staff and student exchanges between Australian schools and universities and those in Indonesia and Malaysia. The project identified examples of all these. Clearly arrangements of this kind need to become more widespread, and the ones in existence more intensively used.

It is inevitable that the increase in numbers of students of Indonesian/Malay and changes in the situation of the teaching of the language at all levels of education is the product of particular local circumstances. The variations in the number of students across the different States and Territories are some measure of this. The disappointingly small number of students studying the language both in schools and in higher education in New South Wales calls for some comment. One would have expected that student numbers in New South Wales ought to have been more comparable with those in Victoria. This is based on the history of teaching the subject in both States, the priority status which the study of Indonesian/Malay has been accorded, the population size and the importance of both States in the business, political and cultural life of the Australian community. It will be particularly important to monitor the effects of the failure to nominate Indonesian/Malay in New South Wales under the Priority Language Incentive Element Scheme and of other measures taken in New South Wales to promote the study of the language.

Finally, it is important that the situation of Indonesian/Malay in Australian education be monitored at regular intervals. In this enterprise there is need for more than just the gathering of numbers of students. These need to be related not just to levels of education, but to cohorts of students, hours of study and levels of proficiency. There is a need to monitor the factors which cause particular cohorts of students to proceed with the study of Indonesian/Malay from one level of education to another or not to do so. In the case of Indonesian/Malay at the present time, there is a need to monitor a number of issues. These include the numbers of background speakers of the language and the effects of the different strategies currently in place to teach them the language, the effects of the Commonwealth Government's Priority Languages Incentive Element Scheme and the proportions of students studying the language across different degrees in higher education. Without such information it is quite impossible to plan properly the strategies needed to encourage the study of the language in Australian education.

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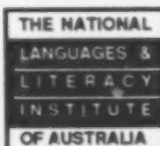
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⁸¹ Publication details are given where available. See Section 3.2.8, 4.4 and 5.3.1.8 for descriptions of these works.

ATTITUDINAL SURVEY FORM



KEY LANGUAGES PROJECT

LANGUAGE STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

For information contact Athol Yates, National Language and Literacy
Institute of Australia, 112 Wellington Parade, East Melbourne Vic 3002
Tel: (03) 416 2422 Fax: (03) 416 0231

Name of School _____
State: _____
Type of school: ☐ State
☐ Catholic
☐ Independent

Part A: Student Profile

1. Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female
2. If you were not born in Australia, at what age did you come to Australia? _____
From which country did you come? _____
3. What level of education did your parents reach? (Tick only one box for each parent)
- | | Father | Mother |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Primary | ☐ | ☐ |
| Post primary | ☐ | ☐ |
| Year 12 | ☐ | ☐ |
| Undergraduate degree | ☐ | ☐ |
| Post graduate degree | ☐ | ☐ |
| Other | ☐ | ☐ |
- Please specify
Mother: _____
Father: _____

Part B: Language background

4. Which language other than English is used at home? (Tick only one box)
- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ French | ☐ Spanish |
| ☐ German | ☐ Italian |
| ☐ Indonesian | ☐ An Italian dialect |
| ☐ Malay | ☐ Arabic |
| ☐ Mandarin Chinese | ☐ Japanese |
| ☐ Cantonese | ☐ Other language |
| ☐ Other Chinese dialect | Please specify _____ |
| Please specify _____ | ☐ English only |
5. Do you speak this language with: (You can tick more than one box)
- | | |
|---|--|
| ☐ Mother | ☐ Grandparents |
| ☐ Father | ☐ Other relatives |
| ☐ Brothers and sisters | ☐ People from your parents' country |
| ☐ Other Please specify _____ | |

6. What subjects are you studying at school this year?

7. To which level do you intend to study? (Tick only one box)

- ☐ Year 11
- ☐ Year 12
- ☐ TAFE
- ☐ Tertiary institution

Part C: Language study at school

All of the following questions are about languages other than English, but do not refer to Latin.

8. Did you study a language at school (including Saturday School or Ethnic School) when you were in Year 10?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

(If you answered "No", this is the last question for you.)

9. Which language or languages did you study at Year 10?

Language 1: (Specify) _____

Language 2: (Specify) _____

(Questions 10 to 13 will be about the language you named as Language 1, questions 14 to 17 will be about the language you named as Language 2.)

10. If you discontinued Language 1 after Year 10, which of the following factors contributed to your decision?

- ☐ I did not wish to continue. (You can tick more than one box)

This was because

- ☐ I do not like languages
- ☐ There were too many native speakers in the class
- ☐ The subject was too difficult
- ☐ My friends did not take this language
- ☐ I did not like the teacher
- ☐ Other reasons

Please specify _____

- ☐ I would have liked to continue, however ... (You can tick more than one box)

- ☐ The language was not available
- ☐ I considered other subjects more important for my overall study plan
- ☐ There were time table clashes with other subjects
- ☐ Other reasons

Please specify _____

11. If you are studying Language 1 this year, how important were the following factors for your decision to continue? Rate your answers on a scale from 1 = "not important" to 5 = "very important".

Ethnic origin and/or religion	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
Contact with the ethnic community in Australia which speaks Language 1	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
Other contact with the country where the language is spoken (past travel, friends, parents' work, etc.)	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
I thought this would be an easy subject for me	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
I had good marks in the past	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
I like studying languages	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
I like studying about the culture and society of the country where the language is spoken	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
I particularly like the teacher	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
I do not have definite plans for the future but I feel the language would enhance my future career prospects	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
I have definite plans to work in an area of employment where the language is used	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
I want to travel or live in the country	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
I have been advised to continue by my family	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
I have been advised to continue by my teachers	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
One or more of my friends was taking the subject	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
Although I had no strong desire to continue, other subjects were even less attractive	1 2 3 4 5 not important very important
Other factors Please specify: _____	

12. To which level do you intend to study Language 1? (Tick only one box)

☐ Year 11
☐ Year 12
☐ TAFE
☐ Tertiary institution

13. How do you rate your ability to use Language 1?

	Poor	Good	Very Good	Fluent
Speaking	[]	[]	[]	[]
Listening comprehension	[]	[]	[]	[]
Writing	[]	[]	[]	[]
Reading	[]	[]	[]	[]

If the language has a different script from English, how do you find using the writing system.

1 2 3 4 5

very easy

very difficult

The following questions will be answered by students who studied two languages (not including Latin) in Year 10.

14. If you discontinued Language 2 after Year 10, which of the following factors contributed to your decision?

[] I did not wish to continue. (You can tick more than one box)

This was because

- ☐ I do not like languages
- ☐ There were too many native speakers in the class
- ☐ The subject was too difficult
- ☐ My friends did not take this language
- ☐ I did not like the teacher
- ☐ Other reasons

Please specify _____

[] I would have liked to continue, however ... (You can tick more than one box)

- ☐ The language was not available
- ☐ I considered other subjects more important for my overall study plan.
- ☐ There were time table clashes with other subjects
- ☐ Other reasons

Please specify _____

15. If you are studying Language 2 this year, how important were the following factors for your decision to continue? Rate your answers on a scale from 1 = "not important" to 5 = "very important".

Ethnic origin and /or religion	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
Contact with the ethnic community in Australia which speaks Language 2	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
Other contact with the country where the language is spoken (past travel, friends, parents' work, etc.)	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
I thought this would be an easy subject for me.	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
I had good marks in the past.	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
I like studying languages.	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
I like studying about the culture and society of the country where the language is spoken.	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
I particularly like the teacher.	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
I do not have definite plans for the future but I feel the language would enhance my future career prospects.	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
I have definite plans to work in an area of employment where the language is used.	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
I want to travel or live in the country.	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
I have been advised to continue by my family.	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
I have been advised to continue by my teachers.	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
One or more of my friends was taking the subject.	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important
Although I had no strong desire to continue, other subjects were even less attractive.	1__2__3__4__5 not important very important

Other factors

Please specify: _____

16. To which level do you intend to study Language 2? *(Tick only one box)*

- ☐ Year 11
☐ Year 12
☐ TAFE
☐ Tertiary institution

17. How do you rate your ability to use Language 2?

Poor			Very	
Speaking	Good	Good	Fluent	
	☐	☐	☐	☐
Listening comprehension	☐	☐	☐	☐
Writing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Reading	☐	☐	☐	☐

If the language has a different script from English, how do you find using the writing system.

very easy 1 2 3 4 5 very difficult

End of questionnaire

Thank you for your cooperation.

The National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia Limited

The National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia Limited (NLLIA) was established in 1990 as the Key Centre for Language Teaching and Research to meet the goals and principles of the 1987 National Policy on Languages. Under the 1991 Australian Language and Literacy Policy, the mandate of the NLLIA was modified to include a heightened focus on literacy.

The NLLIA consists of

- The NLLIA Directorate
- The NLLIA-Languages and Adult Literacy Information and Resources Centre
- The NLLIA-Business Language Services
- The NLLIA-Child Literacy and ESL Research Network
- The NLLIA-Adult Literacy Research Network
- The NLLIA-Language and Society Centre
- The NLLIA-Language Acquisition Research Centre
- The NLLIA-Centre For Workplace Communication and Culture
- The NLLIA-Language and Technology Centre
- The NLLIA-Centre for Deafness and Communication Studies
- The NLLIA-Language Testing Centre
- The NLLIA-Language Testing and Curriculum Centre
- The NLLIA-Western Australia Office
- The NLLIA-South Australian Teaching and Curriculum Centre
- The NLLIA-Document Design and Research Unit
- The NLLIA-Style Council

The NLLIA offers national leadership and guidance on language education issues by:

- providing professional development activities for language lecturers, teacher trainers and teachers
- creating and operating a database and clearing house on language education issues and regularly disseminating information from these
- facilitating and conducting research needed to improve practice in language education
- regularly assessing language education needs by providing advisory and consultancy services to government, unions, business and the community on relevant language issues.

NLLIA Directorate

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Language & Literacy Publications

Unlocking Australia's Language Potential: Profiles of 9 Key Languages in Australia

Volume 1: Arabic

Volume 3: French

Volume 5: Indonesian/Malay

Volume 7: Japanese

Volume 9: Spanish

Volume 2: Chinese

Volume 4: German

Volume 6: Italian

Volume 8: Modern Greek

Summary Volume

The 9 Language Profiles and Summary Volume examine the Australian situation of the 9 languages of Wider Teaching (as identified by the National Policy on Languages) and make recommendations to enhance the learning of these languages in Australia. The reports will be particularly useful for applied linguists, curriculum developers and language policy makers.

A Guide to Adult Language Other Than English Courses in Australia 1993

Have you ever wanted to learn a language other than English but don't know where to start? This book contains comprehensive information on language courses in Australia including addresses, levels, texts, teachers and fees.

The Australian Second Language Learning Program

A detailed description of projects and materials produced by projects funded under the Australian Second Language Learning Program between 1988 and 1992. ASLLP is a Commonwealth initiative designed to stimulate language studies in Australian schools.

Directory of Scholarships For Language Students and Professionals 1993

Contains over 250 different entries on scholarships, exchange schemes, fellowships and other awards for people who are studying, researching or teaching languages, linguistics, applied linguistics, language pedagogy and related disciplines.

ABC For Exporters: A Beginner's Cultural Checklist

Provides a comprehensive list of language and cultural issues which organisations with no experience in exporting need to consider before developing an export plan.

Languages at the Crossroads

Consists of two volumes; the Report and Guide to the Report. The Report provides a detailed examination of policy and practical situation of language teaching in Australia. It also explores demand, supply, recruitment, deployment, professional development and job satisfaction of teachers. The Guide provides selected elements and highlights of the Report.

Language and Language Education Vol 1, No 1. & Vol 2, No 1.

Working papers of the NLLIA. Vol 1, No 1 includes articles on inter-cultural communication and rapid profiling. Vol 2, No 1 will be of particular interest to those involved with language policy and practice in schools.

The Relationship Between International Trade and Linguistic Competence

Department of Employment, Education and Training.

Language is Good Business

Proceedings of the conference "The Role of Languages in Australia's Economic Future".

Room For Two: A Study of Bilingual Education at Bayswater South Primary School

By Sue Fernandez. The extensive experience gained from managing the German bilingual program at Bayswater South Primary School is of relevance to all schools that have or are considering a language program.

Volume 5: Indonesian/Malay

The study of Indonesian/Malay has always been peripheral in Australian education. Even in the late sixties and early seventies, when Indonesian/Malay was at the height of its popularity, only a very small proportion of students taking languages other than English were learning the language. By the end of the eighties, although the numbers of students studying Indonesian/Malay had grown significantly, the language was only the fifth most popular language among eight languages studied in Australian secondary schools, and the seventh most popular among eight languages in higher education.

The Profile examines the declining interest in Indonesian/Malay in a general educational and cultural environment in which only a small proportion of students has chosen to study languages other than English. It describes the policies and the strategies adopted by Commonwealth and State governments in the period

between 1986 and 1991 to encourage the wider study of Indonesian/Malay and the response which these initiatives have found in schools and universities.

The Profile contains an attitudinal survey of students of Indonesian/Malay in Year 11 and a survey of the language use and needs of the Indonesian/Malay speaking community in the Sydney metropolitan area. A survey of the Australian business community in Sydney and Jakarta describes the language and cultural skills which business firms consider they require when dealing with Indonesia, how they employ people with these skills and their assessment of the efficacy of their current practices. The Profile also draws on a survey of teachers of Indonesian/Malay in Australian schools and one of the departments teaching the language in institutions of higher education.

Profiles of 9 Languages of Wider Teaching

The Nine Languages

The nine languages featured in these profile studies were categorised as Languages of Wider Teaching. The nine languages are: Arabic, Modern Standard Chinese, French, German, Modern Greek, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese and Spanish.

These languages represent the vast bulk of the second language learning effort in Australian education. As such, these languages consume the greatest proportion of the resources devoted to the teaching of second languages in this country and will do so for several years to come. These nine were selected for reasons of domestic importance, such as community bilingualism and equal educational opportunities for minority language speakers, and international importance, such as economic and political significance.

Background

The nine languages were designated Languages of Wider Teaching by the 1987 National Policy on Languages. Resources were provided to promote the teaching of these languages and in early 1990, the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education, which was charged with the responsibility for the implementation of the National Policy on Languages, decided to review their progress since 1987. These 9 languages have now been incorporated into the 14 Priority Languages of the Australian Language and Literacy Policy expanding the priority list to include Aboriginal languages, Korean, Russian, Thai and Vietnamese.

The Profiles

The 9 Profiles represent more than a review of the state of play of these languages. The studies promise to bring about a more precise and language-specific form of planning for the teaching and learning of languages in Australia and therefore could well represent a more mature phase in policy making itself. In recent years, language policies have made only generic statements about individual languages or groups of languages. Since there is now a high level of consensus across Australia about the importance of language study, these Profiles will shift the focus to particular issues that affect individual languages.

Who Will Use These Profiles?

These Profiles will be invaluable to all people involved in language and business. Specifically, users will include language policy makers and planners, teachers, lecturers, the media, business associations and researchers.

Uses

The Profiles will be used for planning school and higher education programs, curriculum writing, research, estimating needs in interpreting and translating, and estimating the needs of business to target overseas markets. They will be of continuing value as a stocktake of the 9 studied languages but also of value to the methodology of profiling. The NLLIA intends to study other languages in this same way.